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HISTORY OF THE ORGANIZATION, EQUIPMENT, AND WAR SERVICES OF THE REGIMENT OF BENGAL ARTILLERY,

COMPILED FROM PUBLISHED WORKS, OFFICIAL RECORDS, AND VARIOUS PRIVATE SOURCES.

BY FRANCIS W. STUBBS,

Major, Royal (late Bengal) Artillery.

WAR SERVICES.—VOL. I.

WITH NUMEROUS MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

"ἐπεὶ μάθον ἔμμεναι ἐσθλὸς
Αἰεὶ καὶ πρώτοισι μετὰ Τρώεσσι μάχεσθαι,
Ἀρνύμενος πατρός τε μέγα κλέος ἠδ' ἐμὸν αὐτοῦ."

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ARE DEDICATED TO THOSE OFFICERS OF THE CORPS

WHO HAVE GIVEN THEIR LIVES TO THE SERVICE OF THEIR COUNTRY,

AND

HAVE LEFT THEIR NAMES WITH THE REGIMENT.

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PREFACE.

As an historical memoir of the Bengal Artillery, edited by a writer well known and appreciated, has already appeared, it is necessary to account for the publication of this work.

Some years ago, when I was Adjutant of the Artillery Recruit Depôt at Meerut, my attention was directed by the general officer, then commandant of the regiment, to certain inaccuracies in Buckle's Memoir. Upon comparing the book with original sources in the Regimental Library, it appeared that errors, a few of fact, but chiefly in the names of officers, had got into it, which the official engagements and failing health of the late lamented Captain Buckle prevented him from correcting, and which the editor, Mr., now Sir John Kaye, could not well have had the means of detecting. It also appeared to me that the mixing up of that part of the book relating to the organization and equipment of the Bengal Artillery with the records of its war services detracted from the interest and marred the utility of both. The collection of materials for the present work then commenced.

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It was not, however, till some time after the Mutiny that any decided intention of publishing a new history was formed. Sir John Kaye freely gave his consent, and has, with a liberality I have much pleasure in acknowledging, offered to contribute to its illustrations the woodcuts which were executed for his work. The design of publishing the present one has met with much encouragement, especially among the senior officers of the corps, many of whom have given me valuable information where existing accounts and histories fail. There is, doubtless, much that might still be supplied from private sources; and I shall be glad to receive any additions or corrections, and insert them in that part of the work which contains brief sketches of each of the troops and companies from the time they were first raised.

It may be thought that needless delay has taken place in bringing out these volumes; but it is not so. Besides the professional duties which claimed priority of attention, the difficulty of procuring requisite information through the medium of epistolary communication at stations like Umritsur and Attock, distant from all sources of supply, has been the main retarding cause. The labour has not been a light one, and I can safely say that the sun has seen very little of it.

I have to thank those who have come forward with contributions. Their names will be found in the list of authorities at the head of each chapter. The late Sir George Pollock, from the first, gave me every assist-

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ance in supplying and procuring information, and at one time even offered to overlook and correct proofs. And my special acknowledgments are also due to :—

The Government of India, for permission to consult records; of which I hope to avail myself more fully for the succeeding portions of this work, particularly that regarding organization and equipment.

The Government of Madras, the Commander-in-Chief and Adjutant-General of that presidency, and Major-General Bladen W. Black, Royal Artillery, for records relating to the Madras Artillery.

The Right Honourable Lord Napier, of Magdála, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Commander-in-Chief in India; and the Adjutant-General.

The Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, for copies of despatches.

The Quartermaster-General, for plans and books. I am glad here to associate the names of Major-Generals Lumsden, C.B. and C.S.I., and Johnson, C.B.,* and Colonel F. S. Roberts, C.B. and V.C.; the first a son of a gallant and highly esteemed officer of the regiment, the two last now on the Bengal list of the Royal Artillery.

Colonels M. A. S. Biddulph, C.B., and C. G. Arbuthnot, C.B., Deputy Adjutants-General Royal Artillery in India, for despatches and records.

The Surveyor-General of India, Colonel H. E. L. Thuillier, C.S.I., for maps, plans, and valuable information.

The Examiners, Pay Department, for copies of Muster-Rolls.

* Now Sir Edwin Johnson, K.C.B.

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The Principal, Thomason College, Roorkee, for books from the valuable library of that institution.

The officers of Royal Artillery at Meerut and Mecan Meer, for books from the regimental libraries at those stations.

The Editor of the *Englishman* newspaper, Calcutta, for books from his library.

The Publishers, Messrs. Henry S. King and Co., who have been my principal medium of communication with officers at home.

F. W. S.

Lucknow, 1874.

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NOTE REGARDING THE SPELLING AND PRONUNCIATION OF HINDUSTÁNI PROPER NAMES.

THE system of orthography adopted is that now used officially, by order of Government, for all names except those which, by general use, have established a prescriptive right to be misspelt. This refers to places in the Bengal Presidency, only partially so to the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, in which a uniform system has not as yet been introduced.

For the pronunciation the following simple rule will suffice:—*a*, accented, is pronounced as in *father*; *a*, unaccented, as in *America*, or as the *u* in *upon*; *e*, as in *obey*; *i* and *u* have the sounds they bear in all continental languages, those of *ee* and *oo*; *ai*, as *y* in *my*; *au*, as *ou* in *round*.

NOTICE.

I VERY much regret to see in a late telegram the death of Sir John Kaye, to whose assistance I have been greatly indebted in the prosecution of this work. The intelligence reached me while the pages of the two first volumes were in the printer's hands.

TSHAPORE, *July* 31, 1876.

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HISTORY OF THE BENGAL ARTILLERY.

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A HISTORY of the services of the Artillery is the military history of the country to which it belongs. None but the most unimportant operations are carried on without its assistance, in combination with the other arms. It is impossible, therefore, to show what those

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services were, without giving general details. At the same time, in many of the earlier campaigns, a few names and isolated facts are all that can now be discovered of the share which the artillery, broken up into small detachments, and scattered along the line, had in them. The same system of distribution renders it difficult in many cases to give the numbers of companies when details from more than one were associated together. Indulgence must therefore be craved, if this record in anywise falls short of the expectations of some, or outmarches the patience of others. But it has been the main object of the compiler to recount the names and deeds of those who have added lustre to the corps, that their sons may know that their services are not forgotten, and that those who come after may emulate their good examples.

1-23 R.A. The first company of regular artillery was raised in Bengal, in 1749. The greater part of it, about forty-five
1756 men, perished in the Black Hole on the night of the 20th of June, 1756, after the capture of Calcutta by Suraj ud Daulah; but, except that of its commander, Captain Witherington, the names of none of the other officers or men who belonged to it are known. Whatever remnant did escape joined the artillery which came round from Madras at the close of the year, under Lieutenant William Jennings.* This detail took part in the action of Budge-budge, on the 29th of December, and the
1757 capture of Hoogly on the 10th of January following. In the end of the same month the remainder of the detachment, which had been detained on the voyage, arrived on board the *Marlborough*, and the company was completed to about 100 men with 14 guns, mostly 6-pounders.

* He is said to have belonged to the Royal Artillery, but his name does not occur in Kane's list.

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Lieut.-Colonel Robert Clive commanded in chief. The Nawáb, Suraj ud Daulah, was encamped at Calcutta outside the Máhrátá ditch; in this position covering the whole of the interior, so that Clive, who drew his supplies from thence, would soon have been seriously straitened for provisions. He relieved himself from this difficulty by a bold attack on the Nawáb's camp early in the morning on the 4th of February, penetrating as far even as the head-quarters of Suraj ud Daulah. A fog, such as is common in Bengal in the cold weather, deprived the attack of some of the success which might otherwise have attended it, and the loss was very heavy, both in killed and wounded. Two of the 6-pounders taken with the force broke down and were abandoned. The audacity of the attack, however, had the desired effect; the Nawáb drew off his forces, and, for a time, came to terms. 1757 February

In March, a further reinforcement, consisting of Royal and Bombay Artillery, joined under command of Captain Robert Barker;* and on the 14th, the French settlement of Chandernagore was attacked. It surrendered, after a gallant defence, on the 23rd. Most of the casualties on the last day occurred on board the *Kent* and *Tiger*, carrying the flags of Admirals Watson and Pococke, which bombarded the fort from the river. The first-named vessel being an old craft, and having suffered severely, was condemned, and a number of her sailors took service in the artillery. March

Captain Barker was sent back to Madras to command the Coast Artillery after the capture of Chandernagore, and Lieutenant Jennings was placed in command of the company, with the rank of full captain.†

* See Note A in the appendix at the close of this chapter.

† Commission was dated the 29th June, 1757.

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1757 March — On the recommencement of hostilities with the Nawáb, after he had been relieved from his fear of an invasion from the north-west, Clive advanced from Chan-

13th June — dernagore, trusting in the treacherous co-operation of Mir Jáfar Khán. His force consisted of the following details:—

ARTILLERY.		
Bengal Artillery	100	
Sailors under Lieutenant Hayter	50	
	——	150
INFANTRY.		
H.M. 39th Regiment and Company's Infantry	750	
Bengal Topasses *	100	
Bombay Topasses	100	
Sepoys	2100	
	——	3050
Total ...		3200

There were besides some lascars attached to the artillery, and the ordnance consisted of eight 6-pounder guns and two small howitzers.

The Nawáb had taken up an entrenched position near the village of Plassy, on the river Bhágiratti, and his force here at this time amounted to nearly 70,000 men, with 53 guns, chiefly of large calibre. The method of bringing these pieces (24 and 32-pounders) into action was upon platforms large enough to hold the gun carriage with its ammunition and detail of men, each drawn by forty or fifty pairs of oxen, aided in difficult places by elephants in rear. The odds were so great that Clive called a council of war at Katwáh to decide upon the advisability of risking an action at a distance of 150 miles from his base of operations. He voted himself against; but Major Eyre Coote, 39th Regiment, headed a

* Eurasians, chiefly half Portuguese; so called from wearing "topees," or hats of English shape.

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minority which was for immediate action. After some consideration, however, Clive set aside * this decision, and gave the order to cross the river, which was done the next day, the 22nd. The sick and all superfluous stores were left in the fort at Katwáh. A position was taken up by Clive, during the night, in a grove of mango trees on the left bank of the Bhágiratti, about a mile from the enemy's entrenchments. This grove was about 800 yards in depth by 300 in breadth; its north-west angle about 50, and the south-west angle 200 yards from the river. 1757 June

Early on the morning of the 23rd, the enemy commenced to file out of their entrenchments at different points, and soon formed a line outflanking and encircling the British right. Clive, at first moving out of the grove, rested his left upon Plassy House, a hunting-place of the Nawáb, enclosed with a masonry wall. His line was in six divisions; the Europeans in the centre formed four—under Major J. Kilpatrick, Bengal Infantry; Major A. Grant, 39th; Major Eyre Coote, 39th; and Captain G. F. Gaupp, Madras Infantry—and the sepoys formed one upon each wing. Three 6-pounder guns were placed on either flank. The line barely extended one thousand yards. About two hundred yards in front of the left were two brick kilns, which Clive held with a small party, with the two remaining 6-pounders and the two howitzers.

On the enemy's side, M. St. Frais, with some fifty Frenchmen acting as artillerymen, with four field-pieces, opposed the English left, supported by a chosen body of

* His motive for this change appears to have been two-fold: first, his having received more definite assurances of co-operation from Mir Jáfar Khan; second, the arguments of Coote, who condemned Clive's intention of fortifying himself at Katwáh till the end of the rains, and justly said that their communication with Calcutta must in that case be severed; while to retire on that place, the only other alternative, would certainly endanger the existence of the army.

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1757 June troops; and their guns being better served, and from a shorter distance, the casualties on the side of the latter were here more numerous. The enemy's troops were formed in dense columns of cavalry and infantry, interspersed with batteries of guns, of different strength. Shortly after the action commenced, Clive found his casualties were becoming heavier than his small force could afford, and he therefore withdrew the line into the shelter of the grove and its surrounding embankment, where they were able to do considerable execution and suffered little loss. It was determined to keep up the cannonade during the day and attack the camp at night. But at noon heavy rain fell. It deluged not only the country, but the enemy's unprotected ammunition; and their cavalry advancing to charge the grove, the leader, Mir Mudin, the bravest chief in the Nawáb's army, was killed by a round shot. Suraj ud Daulah at last fled, leaving orders to withdraw his army into their entrenchments, and at 2 p.m. their cannonade ceased, and the guns were seen slowly retreating.

Plassy House and the post at the brick kilns were still held, and Clive had at this time gone to the former place to take some repose—an instance not only of his own coolness and nerve, but of his confidence in his officers and men. Major Kilpatrick, the next senior, seeing that M. St. Frais, who still kept the ground he had taken up at first, might be cut off, gave the order to advance. St. Frais, however, retired in an orderly manner, and took up a position in a redoubt in his rear, which formed part of the entrenchment.

Here the action was renewed, and the English sustained the greatest loss. The enemy's guns were well served, and the cavalry made several bold charges, but were repulsed by the steady and rapid fire of the field-

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pieces. This continued till, the defection of Mir Jáfar Khán becoming evident on the enemy's left, Clive ordered the redoubt and a hillock east of it to be stormed. The success of this movement completed the victory. About 5 p.m. the entrenchments, with the whole of their camp equipage, and the greater part of their baggage and cattle, and fifty-three guns, were in our hands. 1757 June

The battle of Plassy, from the commencement till the final advance to storm the entrenchment, was almost entirely an artillery engagement. The casualties, though comparatively small, were, among the Europeans, principally in that arm. They were as follows:—

	KILLED.		WOUNDED.		TOTAL.
	Officers.	N. C. O. and Men.	Officers.	N. C. O. and Men.	
European Artillery ...	...	6	3	10	19
European Infantry ...	...	1	...	6	7
Native Infantry ...	...	16	...	36	52
	...	23	3	52	78

Officers wounded: Mr. Shoreditch, midshipman of the *Kent*, attached to the artillery; other names not known.

Yet for this victory, which laid the foundation of our empire in India, the Bengal Artillery were omitted from the list of corps permitted to reckon it among their regimental decorations. It concluded the war; a few days more saw Jáfar Khán raised to the Subahdári of Bengal.

In the following year the successes of the French on the Madras coast called for assistance from Bengal, which Clive afforded by sending a force to attack the Marquis de Conflans, commanding in the Northern Circars. It was placed under command of Colonel 1758

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1758 Francis Forde,* an officer formerly belonging to the 39th Regiment, and consisted of five companies of the European battalions, and three battalions of sepoys.

A-19 R.A. The artillery consisted of the 2nd Company, which had been formed on the 19th September, under command of Captain John Broadbridge,† with 100 lascars, and the ordnance detailed in the margin.

Field-pieces.	6-pounders ...	6
	Howitzer ...	1
Battering Train.	24-pounder iron guns	4
	18-pounder ditto ...	4
	8-inch iron mortar ..	1
	5½-inch brass ditto ..	2

Colonel Forde reached Vizagapatam on the 20th of October, and leaving a small garrison there, joined Anandiráj, the Rájá of this part of the country; and after a considerable delay, caused by the difficulty of getting from this chief either carriage, supplies, or money, the force marched towards Rájámandri, and

December on the 8th of December fell in with the enemy near the village of Condore. The battering train and the howitzer had been left behind, and the force engaged amounted to only 470 Europeans and 1900 sepoys. The Rájá's contingent was a mere rabble, and, with the exception of a party of forty Europeans under an adventurer of the name of Bristol, with four field-pieces, was kept out of the way of doing harm. The force of M. de Conflans was composed of 500 Europeans, with more ordnance than they could manage properly, 6000 sepoys, and 500 native horse. On either side the Europeans formed the centre, flanked, the French by thirteen and the English by six field-pieces. On the left of the French were the cavalry;

* Major Forde served with the 39th Regiment in Madras, and was not present at the battle of Plassy. He, as well as Ensigns Joseph Adnett and Martin Yorke, entered the Company's service with increased rank when that regiment was ordered home.

† Transferred from the Royal Artillery. No. 224 on Kane's list, where the name is spelt "Bradbridge." It is given in the text as it appears in the India Office and Bengal returns.

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and the sepoys on either flank were supported by heavy ordnance. On the left of the English stood Mr. Bristol's party, and the sepoys on the flanks. Both parties advanced—the French firing, but the English reserving their fire. As the latter halted, a field of tall Indian corn was in front of the Europeans, which screened them from sight; while the sepoys, who had been ordered by Colonel Forde to furl the small colours allowed to each company and lay them down, being also dressed in scarlet uniform, were at a distance taken for the former. The French consequently, intending to attack the English part of the force, obliqued to their right and moved down upon the left. The sepoys thus threatened, not only by the French supported by a large body of cavalry in front, but also by the extended flank of the enemy, which, thrown forward in a curve, menaced their left and rear, delivered an irregular fire, broke and fled. The French in their haste were outmarching their guns, and Colonel Forde took ground to his left with the centre. The steady and unexpected fire of the Europeans, delivered as they cleared the field of corn, completely routed the French, disordered by their rapid advance, and obliged them to retreat to their abandoned guns. Colonel Forde, following up, charged and drove them back, capturing the guns; not, however, without the loss of Captain Adnett, commanding the leading company, and several men. The English right wing, meanwhile, with three of the guns, had been holding their own against a large force in front and on their flank, which retired on the discomfiture of the centre. 1758 December

The field of battle and some of the guns were thus won; but Colonel Forde determined to complete his success, and therefore, as soon as he was joined by the

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1758 December — whole of the sepoys, and had made his dispositions, moved forward to attack their camp, leaving the field-pieces to follow. The enemy at first attempted to defend the approach to the camp, but the guns coming up just then within shot, they turned and fled, leaving the whole of their ordnance and camp in the hands of the victors. The inequality of the forces engaged, and the complete success achieved, makes this action deserving of prominent record among the services of the corps engaged. The casualties were—Captain Adnett killed, and four officers, one of whom was Mr. John Johnstone, Commissary of Ordnance,* wounded; 15 men killed, and 20 wounded.

1759 — After some time passed in extracting pay for the troops from the coffers of Anandiráj, the force moved southwards, captured the small fort of Kánkal on the 3rd of March, and on the 6th arrived before Masulipatam, the head-quarters of the French in this province.

March — The fort, situated about a mile and a half south-east of the town of Masulipatam, upon an inlet of the sea, and surrounded upon the land sides by swampy ground, had been improved in its defences by the French; the rampart had a palisaded berme, and a wet ditch, but no glacis. A raised road led from a bastion (*G*) on the north-west directly across the morass to the town; this was covered at 120 yards from the gate by a demilune, connected with the body of the place by a *caponnière*. As a regular attack was not possible with the means at his disposal, Colonel Forde erected three detached batteries (*a*, *b*, and *c*) among some sand-hills east of the fort, and separated from it by a branch of the estuary running northward. The south battery (*b*) bombarded the François and Dutch bastions (*A* and *B*); the northern

See PLATE I.

* But not in the Artillery.

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(*c*) fired upon the Cameleon (*D*); and the centre battery (*a*) upon the bastion St. Jean (*C*). To take them in flank, the enemy erected a counter battery (*P*) south of the estuary which enfiladed them. These batteries were not finished till the 25th of March. Before this time the troops, having been left without pay, became very mutinous, and even on the 19th had threatened to break up the camp and march away. The pusillanimous conduct of the Rájá, dreading the power of Salábat Jang, Subahdár of the Dakhan and his French allies, contributed most seriously to hamper the proceedings of Colonel Forde, who had already on his hands a sufficiently onerous task in the attempted reduction of Masulipatam with his very limited means. 1759 March

The colonel however managed, though not without much difficulty, to satisfy the troops that their pay and the expected prize-money should be duly paid them, and the siege was pressed on. The batteries continued their fire from the 25th of March to the 4th of April. The rains set in with a heavy storm and thunder on the 5th, succeeded by fair weather on the 6th, when the artillery officers reported that there was but two days' ammunition left. Salábat Jang and a French army of observation, approaching to relieve the place, were not far off. A retreat or immediate storm were, therefore, the only courses left to Colonel Forde. He chose the latter, with all its chances. The attack was arranged to be on three points, two of which were feints—one by the Rájá's troops, on the north-west front and road leading to the town; the other on the south-west front, between the St. Michael and Saline bastions. Here was no ditch, only a muddy swamp; but Captains Martin Yorke and Randolph Knox on the night of the 6th had examined the ground, and found it passable, though with difficulty. The rain had April

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1759 April

everywhere increased the depth of water, but at this side the mud was heavy and tenacious.

The main and real attack was formed of the battalion of Europeans, with 30 seamen from the *Hardwicke*, East Indiaman, then lying in the roads, and all the artillerymen, altogether 346 rank and file; also half the sepoys, about seven hundred men—the other half, under Captain Knox, being destined for the false attack on the opposite side. The camp was left in charge of some of the Rájá's troops. The breaches were considered practicable; and all three batteries kept an equally hot fire on the 7th, up to the last moment. The storming party consisted of three divisions: the first composed of the European and native grenadiers, under Captain Fischer, with 30 artillerymen; the second of the other four companies of the European battalion, and the sailors, under Captain Yorke; and the third of the remainder of the sepoys, under Capt.-Lieutenant Macleane. They were detained some time waiting for Captain Callender, who was to lead the assault, but who could not be found; so the party moved off without him. Captain Fischer's division attacked the Cameleon, Captain York's the St. Jean, and Captain Macleane the small gate. Captain Fischer's party gained the berme of the Cameleon bastion without being discovered, and after having torn up the palisade, which occupied some minutes, under fire, effected a lodgment in the bastion; Captain Yorke's party, which did not storm the St. Jean, but merely kept its defenders employed, then followed up the breach in the Cameleon and joined the first division, when they separated—Captain Fischer proceeding along the rampart to the right, the other to the left. The latter secured in succession the two nearest bastions, disarming the garrison and also a party of sepoys who were coming

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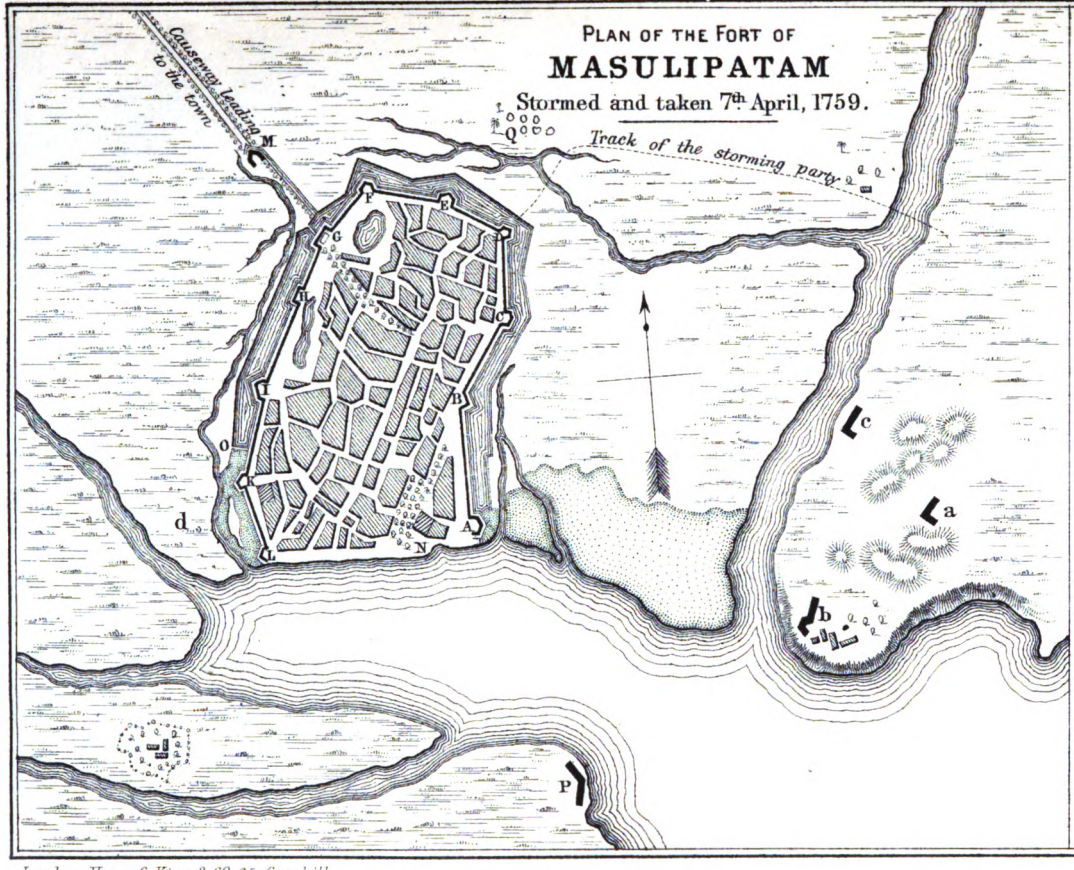

REFERENCES

A *François Bastion*
B *Dutch* ..... d°
C *Saint Jean* ..... d°
D *Cameleon* ..... d°
E *Small gate* ..... d°
F *Churchyard* ..... d°
G *Great Gate* ..... d°
H *Pettah* ..... d°
I *Engodour* ..... d°
K *Saline* ..... d°
L *Saint Michael* d°
M *Demilune*
N *Water Gate*
O *The Sluice*
P *Battery erected to flank the English Batteries.*
Q *Fresh water Wells*

a *Battery* Two 12 p^rs
b d° { Two 18 p^rs / Two 24 p^rs / Three Mortars 13, 9 & 8 in.
c d° { Two 18 p^rs / Two 24 p^rs
d *False attack made by the Sepoys under Capt. Knox.*

Taken from Orme.

London. Henry S. King & Co, 65, Cornhill.

Edw^d Weller, Litho.

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along the road below the rampart; the prisoners being sent to the Cameleon. Just after passing the Dutch bastion, the whole party were seized with a sudden panic, owing to the discovery by an imaginative soldier of a mine in an expense magazine, and the exertions of their officers scarcely prevented their leaving the place by the road they came. This delay enabled the French at the next bastion, the François, to prepare themselves and place a gun in position. A charge of grape delivered within a few yards did much havoc. Captain Yorke fell, wounded in both legs, after setting an example of courage to his men which it would have saved them some lives to have followed; and a second retreat to the Cameleon was the consequence, not however involving the loss of the other bastions already taken. 1759 April

Captain Fischer advanced along the rampart to the right and joined Captain Macleane's party, who were endeavouring to scramble up the bastion of the small gate, which was out of repair. The churchyard bastion was next taken, and then the great gate, where most of the remaining garrison were collected. The firing of the Rájá's troops upon the demilune and the clamour they raised was of some use; it enabled Captain Fischer to clear the bastion with more facility, and to shut out the defenders of the outwork by closing the gate, and the party then prepared to continue its advance. Captain Callender, who had been originally appointed to lead the attack, now suddenly appeared and took the command, but a chance shot at the next bastion placed Captain Fischer again at the head of it. The greatest part of the place was now in our possession; and M. de Conflans, who had remained in his quarters issuing contradictory orders, sent an unconditional surrender to Colonel Forde, who was at the Cameleon with the reserve, and directing the

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1759 April attack. There were captured, with 120 pieces of ordnance, an abundance of military stores, and prisoners of war considerably exceeding the numbers of the British force. Notwithstanding the utter incompetency of M. de Conflans as a military leader, the capture of Masulipatam was a most brilliant success, and to Colonel Forde must be awarded the praise of having won it by his determination and skill. The loss in the assault was severe. It would have been much less had Captain Yorke's men not given way to causeless fear. The officers exerted themselves gallantly; but the stories of other battles show how difficult it is to allay a panic once excited—prompt decision alone may crush it in its birth.* Besides Captains Mollitore and Callender, who were killed, the casualties amounted to 20 Europeans and 50 sepoys killed; 62 Europeans and 150 sepoys wounded; 282 in all.

The respect which the Subahdár of the Dakhan entertained for the English was materially increased after this, and Colonel Clive's overtures resulted in a treaty, concluded by Colonel Forde on the 12th of May, by which a territory of 80 miles along the coast, 20 miles broad, was ceded to the British. The troops were detained in this part of the country for some time longer, employed in desultory operations. The European portion of the force, including the 2nd Company of Artillery, embarked at Vizagapatam in January, 1760, and returned to Bengal, whither Colonel Forde had preceded them nearly three months.

It was not long before the services of Colonel Forde

* A good instance was General Sir W. Medow's reply at the storming of Nandidrug, 18th October, 1791, when some one in the hearing of the men said that there was a mine near the breach. "A mine! If there be a mine, my boys, it is a mine of gold." The joke dispelled the rising panic.

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were again put in requisition. The conduct of the Dutch occupying the station of Chinsurah was bringing matters to an issue. Colonel Clive did not intend to permit himself to be pushed off any ground upon which he had once set his foot. War had not been declared between the two countries; but this did not prevent his taking the initiative.* Colonel Forde, on the 20th of November, occupied Báranagar, a Dutch factory, and crossed the Hoogly. On the 24th there was an engagement between the ships of the rival nations in which their commodore was worsted, and Colonel Forde dislodged them from a position they had taken up in Chandernagore. Obtaining Clive's permission to strike a decisive blow, he next morning took up a position on the road to Chinsurah. His force was— 1759 November

European Infantry	240
Ditto Volunteers, horse and foot	50
Artillerymen, with 4 field-pieces	80
Sepoys	800
Native Cavalry	150
	1320

The Dutch force numbered 700 Europeans and 800 Malays, besides a number of sepoys. They attacked, but in half an hour were defeated, and fled, leaving 120 Europeans dead on the field and 350 prisoners. "The advantage of a skilfully chosen position," says an accurate and judicious author,† "the effect of a well-directed and well-served artillery, and finally the aid of cavalry, all tended to render this victory so decisive and complete, in despite of the disparity of numbers." It is said that only fourteen of the enemy succeeded in regaining Chinsurah. This was the battle of Bedarrah. The 1st Com- 1-23 R.A.

* The Dutch had seized several small trading vessels under English colours, and this justified Clive in doing so.

† Captain Arthur Broome—"Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army."

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1759 November pany of Artillery was present; but, though Captain Jennings must have commanded it, none of the names of the officers have been recorded.

1760 In February of the next year Colonel Clive left India. Notwithstanding the good services he had rendered and his high character as an officer, Colonel Forde had incurred the displeasure of the Court of Directors, who would not give him the command, but conferred it upon Major Caillaud, who was sent from Madras. At this time the greater part of the English force was usually stationed at or near Calcutta. There was a battalion of sepoys at Murshidábád, where the Nawáb of Bengal held his court, his son Miran being in command of his father's forces. The Deputy Governor, Rájá Rám Naráyan, lived at Patna, where was a small factory, the chief of which was Mr. Amyatt, garrisoned by a detachment under Captain Cochrane, of a few infantry and artillerymen with two guns—in all about 70 Europeans, and eight companies of sepoys. Rájá Rám Naráyan's own force amounted to 30,000 or 40,000 men.

The state of India was everywhere unsettled. While Máhrátás were taking advantage of every dissension to extend their power and means of acquiring plunder, and the Duráni chief was threatening the country

1759 from Afghánistán, the Mogul Emperor Álamgir Sáni died, and his son Ali Gohar succeeded him under the name of Sháh Álam, which his misfortunes afterwards rendered famous. As Sháhzádáh, he had been making preparations to invade Behár and Bengal, and his accession to the imperial title brought him some substantial

1760 and more nominal aid. He attacked Patna in the beginning of February. Rám Naráyan moved out of his entrenchments, and gave the enemy battle at Masimpur,

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but was defeated. The European officers of the sepoys all fell, and their men were nearly all cut to pieces. Lieutenant Buck, the only artillery officer present, was killed. Those who remained fought their way back to Patna, under Dr. Fullarton. The author of the "Sair ul Mutakharin" thus describes the conduct of this officer:— 1760 February

"The remnant of the army was discomfited. Doctor William Fullarton, with whom the author was himself acquainted, took the command. Other officers there may have been who assisted in restoring order, but I do not know of any. One of the guns, which was lying injured on the field, they damaged and rendered useless by striking an iron spike into its eye (vent). The other gun and the ammunition waggon they took with them. Steadily, and in good order, they retired on Azimábád (Patna). As they retreated an accident happened to the gun-carriage; the doctor, standing with perfect coolness, set it right, and then went on his way. Among the good qualities of this man, there is no doubt that firm resolve, foresight, and courage were pre-eminent."

Major Caillaud, meanwhile, and the Chota Nawáb (Miran) were moving up, and on the 23rd of February he met and defeated the enemy at Sherpur,* compelling the Emperor to retreat to Behár.

The indolence, or rather treachery, of Miran prevented the major from taking advantage of his victory. There were fifty artillerymen of the 1st Company engaged in this battle, with six guns. Four of these broke down in the heavy ground, but the steady conduct of the troops overcame all difficulties. From Behár the Emperor struck across the Karakpur hills by a wild and rugged route, closely followed by Major Caillaud. The Nawáb was encamped near Mangalkot, on the river Adjai, and might have been attacked at a disadvantage; but the enemy did not avail themselves of 1-23 R.A. March

* Suraj is the name sometimes given. Sherpur is a little south of the East Indian Railway line, between the stations of Bár and Bakhtiárpur. Surajpur is almost on the line.

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1760 March — the opportunity, and the chance was lost when Major Caillaud joined him on the 4th of April. Along with the
April — Nawáb was a detachment of European infantry, which had arrived from Madras under Captain Spear, with two guns. He was reinforced from Calcutta, on intelligence of the Emperor's approach, by 200 men and four guns under Captain Fischer, lately arrived from Vizagapatam. The artillery belonged to the 2nd Company. Part of
A-19 R.A. this force Major Caillaud despatched with Captain Fischer to protect Murshidábád; with the rest he moved against Sháh Álam, who was posted at Mánkúr,* and on the 7th of April prepared to attack his camp. Again the treachery or cowardice, or both, of the Nawáb and his son baulked the English. The Emperor, however, would not wait for another attempt, but set fire to his camp and began to retrace his steps to Patna. This was not known for some days; but as soon as it was discovered, it was necessary to take measures to succour the small party left at Patna, who would soon be overwhelmed. Major Caillaud therefore selected 200 Europeans, who, with a battalion of sepoys and a part of the 2nd Company of Artillery with two guns, left camp under command of Captain Knox, on the 16th of April, with orders to proceed by Rájmahal and the north side of the Ganges, avoiding however the hostile district of Purniah, and reach Patna at the earliest possible date.

The forces of Rám Náráyan were not the more courageous for their late defeat. There were with him about 300 sepoys, and the same number under Rájá Shitáb Rái, a Hindoo, who had more courage and ability than his race usually possess. On the other hand, M. Law had arrived from Bandelkhand, and was making

* Now a station on the branch line of railway from Burdwán to Rániganj.

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strenuous endeavours to organize an effective force. On the Emperor's arrival the place was invested, and the garrison well-nigh reduced to despair of being able to hold their own, even though Dr. Fullarton, with all the qualities of a gallant soldier, was there to set an example of endurance and courage. A little after noon on the 29th, dust across the river gave signs of an approaching body of men, and shortly after an advanced party under Captain Knox entered the city, with the cheering sight and sound of British colours, British fifes and drums, having performed the distance of about 300 miles and crossed the Ganges twice in thirteen days, in the hottest part of the Bengal year. Captain Knox himself had marched on foot the whole way as an example to the men. This feat is particularly deserving of record, for the troops had none of the modern improvements which facilitate rapidity of movement, and they were often called upon to assist the slow draught of bullocks over unmade roads. On the night of his arrival Captain Knox himself went out to reconnoitre the enemy's camp. 1760 April

But this was not the only exploit of Captain Knox's gallant force. The Deputy Governor of Purniah, Kadam Husain, was moving up with 6000 cavalry, 10,000 infantry, and 30 guns, to join the Emperor, who had now retired a short distance from Patnà. Captain Knox had orders to harass his march. To the utter astonishment of Rám Naráyan and the inhabitants of Patna, he crossed the Ganges supported only by the brave Shitáb Rái, and on the 16th of June engaged and completely defeated the enemy near the village of Bhirpur, capturing three elephants and eight pieces of ordnance. Such exploits are more worthy of record than many a better known field; and A Battery, 19th Brigade R.A., has reason to look back with honourable pride upon the services performed June

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1760 June by a part of the 2nd Company under Captain Randolph Knox. Captain J. Broadbridge and Capt.-Lieutenant J. Kinch were most probably present in all these movements, though their names have not been recorded.

Colonel Caillaud being recalled to take the command
1761 in Madras, was succeeded by Major Carnac, who followed up the previous successes by attacking the Emperor on the 15th of January, 1761, near Behár. He was defeated, M. Law and his officers were taken prisoners, and shortly after Sháh Álam was formally taken under English protection.

The deposition of Mir Jáfar Khán and the elevation of Mir Kásim Khán concerns not a chronicle of honourable services; it belongs to the history of the consciences of those who were partners in the iniquitous transaction, and who drove a revengeful tyrant to throw off a yoke he could not bear. It brought a sad retribution
1763 in the murder of all the civilians and troops stationed at Patna. Mr. Ellis, the chief of the factory there, seemed bent on driving Mir Kásim Khán to extremities. The force at this place consisted of four companies of European infantry, the 2nd Company of Artillery, and three battalions of sepoys—the whole under command of Captain Peter Carstairs. The strength of the 2nd Company, from a return dated the 30th April, 1763, appears to have been 1 captain, 4 lieutenant-fireworkers, 1 commissary, 1 adjutant, 3 sergeants, 3 corporals, 2 drummers, 4 bombardiers, 10 gunners, and 37 matrosses. On the 24th of June Mr. Ellis commenced hostilities by attacking the city of Patna, but was driven out again by the Nawáb's troops, and finally evacuated the factory and commenced a retreat upon Oudh. The rashness of Mr. Ellis was supplemented by the incompetency of the military leader, who, with a force as large as Colonel

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Forde had at Condore or Masulipatam, and much larger than Captain Knox commanded in the same station three years before, could now only retreat. Harassed on all sides, the force made its way as far as Mánjhi, where, after losing a large number of officers and men, the remainder laid down their arms, and were sent as prisoners to Mánkúr, where the Nawáb was. This was early in July. 1763

The attention of Mir Kásim Khán had from the first been directed to the improvement of his army, both in men and material, and it was at this time very efficient. He had two regular brigades commanded by Markar, an Armenian, and Sumroo, a Swiss formerly in the Company's service, and who soon obtained an unenviable notoriety.

On the 5th of July, a force consisting of nearly 850 Europeans and 1500 natives marched from Ghyretti. The 1st Company of Artillery, commanded by Captain Jennings, with 10 guns, was with it. Other detachments were moved up from different quarters to join it. One of these, a battalion of native infantry, under Lieutenant W. Glenn, with two guns, conveying a large quantity of treasure, cattle, and grain, was attacked, and successfully repulsed on the 17th, between Burdwán and Agardip, on the Bhágiratti, a very superior force, though with the loss of most of the artillerymen. On the 19th Major Adams engaged and defeated, after a severe struggle, a body of the enemy, under Muhammad Takki Khán, at Katwáh. Their leader was killed. Thence he advanced beyond Murshidábád to Giria,* where the whole of the enemy, amounting to about 40,000 men, were drawn up. Major Adams' force now amounted to about 1000 Europeans and 4000 sepoys. July

* Old spelling is *Gheriah*.

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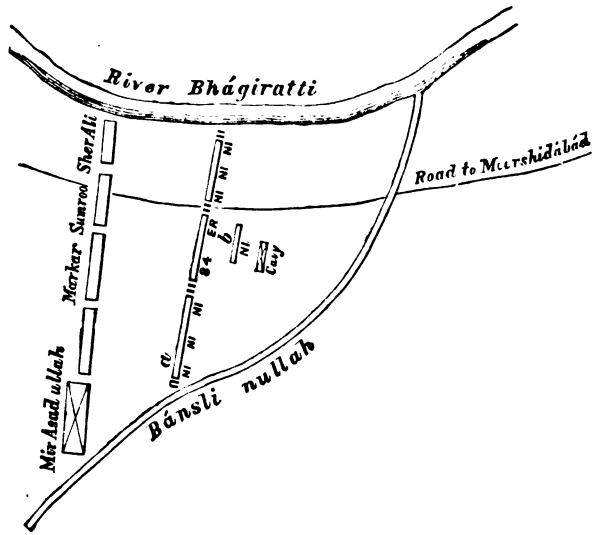
1763 July 1-23 R.A. The artillery consisted of the 1st Company, under Captain Jennings, with Captain-Lieutenant John Green and another detail, from which, about this time, or a little subsequently, a second company was raised * to replace the one lost at Patna. Captain Ralph Winwood had command of it. The whole numbered about 120 artillerymen.



BATTLE OF GIRIA, 2ND AUGUST, 1763.
a. Captain Stibbert's battalion. *b.* Lieutenant Stables' battalion.

August On the 1st of August the army crossed the Bánsli river, and next day was fought the battle of Giria, memorable both for the numerical superiority and efficiency of the troops opposed to the English, and the ability with which they were handled. The greatest loss occurred on our left, where the enemy's cavalry were in greatest force. Headed by Mir Badr ud din, they broke the left wing, drove the left battalion of sepoys

* The date of this order in Council is not known, but it was probably formed in the field about July.

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into the Bánsli river, and breaking through the gap, attacked the 84th Regiment in front and rear, and for a time held the guns on their outer flank. Major Adams promptly brought up the reserve under Major Carnac, and, as the right wing was not so hard pressed, sent a reinforcement from thence. The 84th, thus supported, freed themselves from their assailants, and recovered the guns. At this time also, Mir Badr ud din was wounded; and, his troops beginning to waver, Adams seized the opportunity, closed on his centre, and charged with the bayonet. Threatened disaster was thus changed into victory, and seventeen guns fell into Major Adams' hands. Our loss was very heavy. Among the killed were Lieutenant G. F. Kaylor, of the artillery, and the gallant William Glenn, of the infantry. 1763 August

Falling back before the English, the Nawáb's army collected itself again at Udwah Nálá, an old fort a few miles south of Rájmahal, where Mir Kásim had constructed fortified lines to close the pass through which the high road ran. The entrenchments consisted of a rampart and parapet about seventeen feet high, with flanking towers at intervals, one end resting on the Ganges, the other upon the hills which at this point closed in towards the river. A narrow slip of high land bordered the river. Along this ran the high road, and between it and the hills lay an extent of low swampy ground, covering the front of the lines. The position was defended by 100 guns, and being so formidable, it was determined to attack it by regular approaches along the high level.

Captain Grant, of the 84th Regiment, and Captain-Lieutenant John Green, of the artillery, were employed as field engineers. Paucity of men and frequent attacks of the enemy retarded the work into September. The whole of the artillery were employed in the trenches, their

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1763 August numbers not admitting of any relief. The enemy's attacks, too, were made by parties who forded the morass before daylight, and kept the troops constantly upon September the alert. By the 4th of September three batteries had been erected, the nearest about three hundred yards from the works; a breach had been made at a gateway near the river, but a very imperfect one. The information communicated this day by a deserter, however, who promised to show the way across the morass, induced Major Adams to order an assault on both extremities of the lines; the main column proceeding by the path through the morass, while the right column, moving direct upon the entrenchments, was to be a feint or a true attack according to circumstances. Both succeeded, and the enemy were driven out with immense slaughter. All their ordnance and stores were captured. The loss in life was estimated at 15,000. There was no more thought of making a stand at any of the passes beyond. Mir Kásim fled to Patna, carrying with him, however, all the unfortunate prisoners in his hands. His reverses had increased the ferocity of a cowardly nature, and he refused to release the women and children. Monghyr was next invested, October and capitulated on the 2nd of October. Accumulation of disaster drove the Nawáb to blind revenge; and he commanded the massacre of the prisoners. It was difficult to find any one to carry out the order; but its execution has made the name of Sumroo—better known latterly as Sombre, after his marriage with the Begam of Sardhánah—infamous wherever the story of the English in India has been told, till the tragedies of 1857 showed how thin a film of civilization our boasted superiority had spread over the native character. The artillery officers of the Patna garrison who

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perished from the commencement to the termination of this disaster were—Captain John Kinch; Lieutenants G. F. Hockler and R. Perry; Lieut.-Fireworkers John Brown, Ardean Decker, John Read, and Benjamin Adamson. 1763 October

The fall of Patna followed; it was taken by assault on the 6th of November. Major Knox, who, having been educated at Woolwich, possessed considerable skill in engineering,[1] and who was then acting as quarter-master general, was able by his previous knowledge of the locality to give valuable service during the course of the operations. The loss of the English was heavy; but it was the last struggle of the Nawáb in the field. He fled to Oudh, where for some time he kept up some kind of position; but at last, plundered by the Vazir in return for the hospitality shown, he was obliged, an almost penniless fugitive, to seek Rohilla protection, and finally died at Delhi on the 6th of June, 1777, in great poverty, his last shawl being sold to pay his funeral expenses.[2] November

Towards the close of the year Major Adams was obliged to resign the command of the army. At the head of it he had, in four months, subdued Bengal and Behár as far as the Karamnássa, won two battles against immense odds, captured four strongly fortified positions and nearly 500 cannon, and had expelled Mir Kásim Khán from the country. His health, however, had given way, and he died at Calcutta on the 16th December. Major Knox, who succeeded him, was shortly afterwards obliged to leave from the same cause,* leaving Captain W. Jennings in command.

* This very distinguished officer died at Calcutta in February, at a comparatively early age.

[1] Broome, p. 395.

[2] Asiatic Annual Register, 1800. Miscellaneous Tracts, p. 35.

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1764 January

Meanwhile, emissaries from Mir Kásim Khán in Oudh had been busy in corrupting the army. The European portion of it contained a large number of French and other foreigners, adventurers or deserters, who lent a ready ear to evil counsels. The gratuity promised by Mir Jáfar Khán, on his reinstatement, had not been received. This was made a cause of complaint. Discontent at last broke out into mutiny, while the force was cantoned at Sáwant, on the Dargauti, a confluent of the Karamnássa. It was the 30th of January, when Captain Jennings was in command, that this feeling showed itself, on a parade of the European battalions.

February

Quieted for a day or two, they again, on the 11th of February, turned out, seized the guns, and with some of the sepoys marched towards the river Karamnássa, intending to desert into Oudh. Very few of the artillerymen, being nearly all English,* joined in the mutiny. The exertions of Captain Jennings, of Lieutenant Claude Martin,† and the other officers, however, prevailed so far that all save 157 of the European infantry, 10 of the cavalry, and 100 natives were brought back. Only three Englishmen held out. The next day the issue of a dividend of the expected donation, procured partly from the Nawáb, and partly borrowed from the English officers, made them ashamed of themselves.

But the distribution caused another mutiny; this time among the natives, who did not approve of the shares they received. Naturally too, as the European

* Probably, too, for a regard for Captain Jennings, their own commanding officer.

† Afterwards in the service of the Vazir of Oudh. He died a major-general, September 13th, 1800, at Lucknow, where he founded the institution that now bears his name.

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sergeant received 80 rupees, the native but 12; the European private 40, and the sepoy only six. 1764 February

On the morning of the 13th news was brought to Jennings that the sepoy battalions were assembling under arms on their own parades. He immediately turned out the whole of the artillery and European infantry. It was necessary to guard against any communication between them after the late events, and against the risk of a collision. Mir Kásim, though a fugitive, had still a force at his command. Shuja ud Daulah, the Vazir of Oudh, with the Emperor of Delhi, was prepared to recommence hostilities. Successful mutiny would have broken up and have lost to the English the whole of their lately acquired territory, perhaps more. So that when one of the sepoy regiments, setting up a loud shout, came tumultuously rushing down upon the line of Europeans, everything depended upon the nerve of the commander. A chance shot would have left but one course open. But Jennings, riding up and down the line, kept the men quiet, telling them the sepoys only wished to pass through their intervals, and were to be allowed to do so. A subaltern of artillery was about to apply a lighted match to his gun, loaded with grape, when Captain Jennings snatched it out of his hand. The result justified the course taken: the sepoys joined their comrades on the other flank; the day passed off quietly, and the grievance was redressed by a fairer division of prize. High praise was due to Captain Jennings for his calmness and determination on this occasion.

Early in March Major J. Carnac arrived and took command, but his movements were the reverse of energetic. The army was at this time encamped at Hariharganj, on the left bank of the river Son, opposite to March

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1764 March — Dáudnagar. It advanced as far as Buxár; but when the combined forces of the Emperor Sháh Álam, Shuja ud Daulah, and Kásim crossed the Ganges, contrary to the orders of the Council at Calcutta and the eager hopes
April — of all under him, Major Carnac retreated to Patna and
May — entrenched himself there. On the third of May he was attacked in this position by the enemy, and repulsed them; but this advantage was not followed up, though they remained in the vicinity for some days. Then came
August — the rains, and after these a successor in the person of Major Hector Munro, of the 89th Regiment.

This officer was soon called upon to quell the mutinous spirit not yet "laid" in the native army. The story of
September — the four grenadiers who claimed precedence in death, as in the field, is well known. But the lesson taught was forgotten more than once afterwards.

October — The Vazir was encamped at Buxár. On the 9th of October Major Munro marched from Bánkipur, and crossed the river Son a little north of the present line of railway, at Koelwar Ghát. As the enemy were prepared to dispute the passage, Major Champion was sent across the Ganges at Chaprah to cover the operation, and Major Goddard, who had previously taken possession of the strong fort of Rohtas among the hills in the Shahábád district, moved down the left bank of the Son, to co-operate from the other side. The passage was thus forced without loss, the enemy retiring without risking a general action, though the cavalry had some rough work before the army reached Buxár. Major Munro intended attacking the enemy in their position; but this was anticipated by their moving out on the 23rd of October. Munro had, however, made all his arrangements beforehand and was prepared. His force was arranged in two lines, as shown in the sketch given at page 31.

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The numerical strength of the English force, exclusive of officers and sergeants, was as follows:— 1764 October

	Europeans.	Native.	Total.
1st Company of Artillery ...	71	...	71
Cavalry	40	918	958
Infantry	746	5297	6043
Total	857	6215	7072

The ordnance, consisting of 28 pieces, was disposed of as follows:—

In the front line—on either flank of the line one 12-pounder, two 6-pounders; on either flank of the Europeans one 12-pounder, one 6-pounder gun, and one 5½-inch howitzer; in their centre four 6-pounders. In the rear line—two 6-pounders on either flank of the line, and two on either flank of the Europeans.

The army of Shuja ud Daulah numbered more than 40,000 men. The brigades of Mir Kásim's army, commanded by Sumroo and Medoc, now in the Oudh service, were eight battalions of disciplined men; the guns attached being worked by Europeans, chiefly deserters. The cavalry were numerous and picked men, commanded by good leaders, recruited almost entirely from the more warlike tribes of the north-west and beyond the land of the five waters. A large body of Duráni horse were there, who, if troublesome to both friend and foe from their predatory habits, were just the men to take advantage of any confusion that might occur in action. The enemy's guns, too, were far superior, both in number and in weight of metal. To provide, therefore, against the certainty of an attack by the cavalry in force upon the flanks while the first line was engaged to the front, the second was placed only the length of a battalion in the rear of the first; so that by the quarter-wheel of the

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1764 October flank half-battalions, the whole could be formed into a hollow square, with a small reserve (two grenadier companies of the Europeans and the European cavalry) in the centre, under Lieutenant George Hay, ready to act in any direction. The result showed the excellence of this disposition.

As both lines advanced, the superior weight in metal of their guns gave the enemy an advantage which better artillerists might have made much more serious. Rockets were also used by them in numbers, but without much effect. A large body of Durâni horse attacked the left flank, which wheeling in both lines, closed up the intervals and repulsed them with loss. They then passed round to the rear and attacked and routed the native cavalry, which were posted in a village with four companies of sepoys, guarding the baggage. Lieutenant Vertue, commanding the latter, being compelled to evacuate the post, retired on the second line by alternate companies in excellent order. The whole of the baggage was captured; and the enemy, encouraged by this success, attacked the rear of the second line, which, facing about, received them on the point of the bayonet. Repeatedly did they charge; but an unwavering line and steady discharge of grape left them no choice but to retire each time, leaving the ground covered with slain.

In front the battle was kept up with vigour on both sides. Lieutenant James Nicol, the adjutant-general of the sepoys, with Major Stibbert's battalion—the commanding officer of which, Captain Feake, appears to have been superseded on the field for misconduct—advanced and carried at the point of the bayonet a village to the right, where a battery of heavy guns was, by an oblique fire, making itself too well acquainted with the range of the first line. A tope to the left of the village was next

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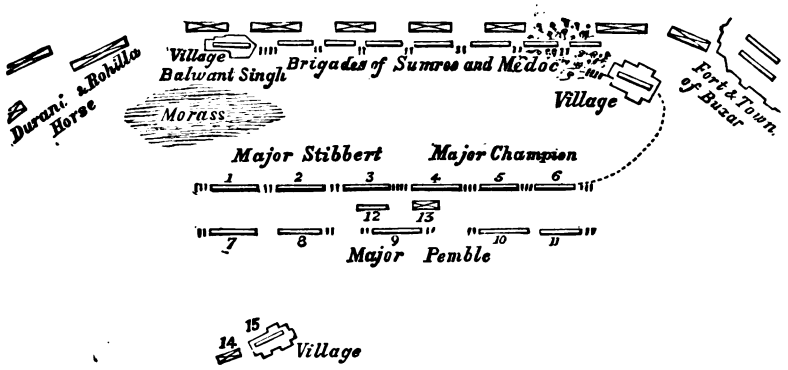
carried by the right wing. An attack was made at the same time upon the English left wing by a body of almost 6000 horse and foot under Miah Isa, commanding the cavalry in the centre; but while his men struggled through the swampy ground, they had to endure a fire that disorganized their charge, and their leader, in trying to encourage his men to repeated attacks, fell shot through the head. They broke and fled. This

1764 October



SKETCH OF THE BATTLE OF BUXÁR, FOUGHT 23RD OCTOBER, 1764.

1. 11th N.I., Captain Morgan
2. 2nd N.I., Captain Nollikins
3. Detachment Bombay and 2 Companies Bengal Infantry, Captain Macpherson
4. Detachment 84th, 89th, 90th, and Marines, Captain Wemyss
5. 13th N.I., Captain Wilding
6. 1st N.I., Captain Feake, afterwards Lieut. J. Nicol
7. 15th N.I., Captain Stables
8. 6th N.I., Captain Trevannion
9. Bengal Infantry
10. 3rd N.I., Captain J. Grant
11. 8th N.I., Captain Smith
12. Grenadier Companies Bengal Infantry } Capt. Geo. Hay, Reserve
13. European Cavalry, Captain Hay } Capt. Geo. Hay, Reserve
14. Native Cavalry
15. 4 Companies Sepoys, Lieut. W. Vertue

caused a retreat of Sumroo's and Medoc's brigades; so Major Munro, seeing the day was won, formed column and ordered a general advance. The enemy's left, under Beni Bahádur, which were within the streets of the ruined town and the fort, were not aware of how the day had sped till the appearance of two sepoy battalions gave them a notice to quit, of which they speedily availed themselves.

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1764 The number of guns captured in this action was very large, amounting to 133. Thirty-two more were found mounted in the fort and entrenchments. The casualties were—101 Europeans and 847 natives killed, wounded, and missing. The proportion belonging to the artillery is not known, but no officer appears to have been among the number. Politically, this was the most important battle yet fought; it set a seal upon all the acquisitions of territory, influence, and power gained by the English. In tactics it may not afford much; but as an example of steady conduct under fire, against great superiority in numbers and weight of metal, it must rank high. If the odds were not so great, numerically, as at Plassy, the quality of the troops Major Munro had to fight against was far superior to those Clive saw before him on the 23rd of June, 1757; they were better commanded, and there was no false leader at a critical moment to throw his shield behind his back and betray his master.

Of the artillery officers engaged, two were singled out, among other officers, for special mention. Mr. Vansittart, the Governor in Council, writes to Major Munro:—

"We request that you will return our thanks to the other field officers and to the commandant of Artillery for their care and vigilance in preserving this disposition, and taking every advantage over the enemy. . . . . Captain Winwood . . . . Lieutenant Duff, mentioned in your letter to the President as meriting your particular notice, have gained great honour."

December The fort of Chunár was the next object of attack. Major Pemble, with a detachment of three battalions of native infantry, and some artillery under Captain
A-19 R. A. Winwood, belonging to the newly resuscitated 2nd Company, were sent; but after two assaults, which failed, the
1765 attempt was postponed. Major Stibbert invested the place again in January, and in the beginning of February

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the Kiladár surrendered. Captain Winwood, with the 2nd Company, was engaged on this service also. At the same time Major Sir Robert Fletcher, who had succeeded to the command, took possession of the fort of Allahabad. For his services on this campaign, Captain Jennings was promoted to the rank of major in the regiment, which he had already held in the army apparently on the footing of a brevet. 1765

But the campaign was not yet over. While Carnac, now a brigadier-general, had reassumed command of the army, Major Sir Robert Fletcher defeated the Máhrátás in two actions—at Kora on the 3rd, and at Kálpi on the 23rd of May. It does not appear what company of artillery was present here, but probably the 1st was.

The army after this returned to quarters for the hot season, the advanced brigade taking post at Allahabad, now the frontier station of the country under British rule. Lord Clive had returned from England as governor and commander-in-chief, with orders to reorganize the army and reduce the batta allowances. The events which followed on carrying out the latter are related elsewhere.

A third company had been raised on September 17th, 1763, and was retained as a garrison company at Fort William for several years. Minutes of Council dated 4th August, 1765, added a fourth, and constituted the artillery a distinct command.

It is impossible now to give the names of all the officers of the artillery employed in the foregoing operations. The lists given in the Appendix (Note B to F) show the names of the officers who were in the corps between 1760 and 1765, as far as they can be ascertained with any degree of correctness.

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4. Thornton's History of British India.
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6. Malcolm's Life of Lord Clive.
7. Gleig's Life of Lord Clive.
8. Sair ul Mutakharin.
9. Asiatic Annual Register.
10. Dodwell and Miles' Army List.
11. Colonel G. Ironside's Narrative.
12. General Military Register of the Bengal Establishment from 1760 to 1795.

APPENDIX.

Note A.—Notice of Brigadier-General Sir R. Barker.
,, B.—Officers of Bengal Artillery on January 1, 1760.
,, C. Ditto ditto 1761.
,, D. Ditto ditto 1762.
,, E. Ditto ditto 1763.
,, F. Ditto ditto 1764.
,, G. Ditto ditto 1765.
,, H. Ditto ditto 1766.

Note A.

Captain Barker's name does not occur in Kane's list of the Royal Artillery officers, but he doubtless belonged for a time to the corps, as he commanded a company of it in the expedition to the Manillas in 1762. He was probably transferred by some local order from the infantry; and though it never was confirmed by higher authority, nearly all, if not the whole, of his service in the ranks of captain, major, and lieut.-colonel was in the artillery. And he had considerable experience in the service of this arm, as he was selected to command it on

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the Madras coast, where he greatly distinguished himself during the siege of Fort St. George, by Lally, in December—February, 1758-59. Lord Clive, in a letter to the Court of Directors, dated 27th April, 1764, thus spoke of him:—

"To command your artillery I would recommend Sir Robert Barker, whose abilities in that department have been exceeded by no officer that ever was in your service."

And when Sir Robert Barker (who had for his services been created a baronet) was appointed to command one of the brigades of the army, with rank senior to Sir Robert Fletcher, the latter officer wrote to Lord Clive—in a letter recommending the introduction of strict discipline into the army—declining to serve under him. Lord Clive, in his reply, says:—

"But what surprises me still more is, that you, who have been removed from one establishment to another, and have actually superseded numbers, should object to serve under an officer who was a captain when you were only an ensign or a volunteer on the same establishment. . . . You think that he should have remained in the artillery. That would not have hindered him from commanding you upon all occasions when you were both upon service together. Indeed, his rank is so high that he must always command wherever he is, if Carnac or Smith be not present, which may seldom happen—except, indeed, by being an artillery officer, he should be thought improper to command the whole; and by that means an officer of his rank and merit would be deprived of acting in the field at all."

Lord Clive's intention of appointing him to the command of the Artillery as a colonel-commandant was not carried out, probably because such a rank was not then sanctioned by the Court of Directors; he therefore received an infantry commission, and was promoted to the rank of colonel in that branch, May 3rd, 1765. He subsequently commanded the Bengal army with the rank of brigadier-general from 1770 till 1773, and resigned the service in 1775.

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Note B.

Officers of the Bengal Artillery on the 1st of January, 1760.

Rank.	Names.	Date of Rank.	No. of Company.	Remarks.
Captain	William Jennings	29 June, 1758	1	
„	John Broadbridge	19 Sept. 1758	2	From Royal Artillery; 224 in Kane's list
Capt.-Lt.	John Kinch	„	2	
Lieutenant	— Elliott	— Sept. 1758		
„	William Dunstall (or Dunstable)	(?)		
„	Ralph Winwood	11 Dec. 1758		Came from infantry
Lieut.-Fireworker	J. Vaudgreen	„		
„	John Green	—— 1758		
„	John Boylon	—— 1758		
„	— Buck	(?)		Killed 9 Feb. 1760, at the battle of Masimpur, near Patna
„	George Burghall	(?)		Appears to have come from the Royal Artillery; 362 in Kane's list
„	G. F. Kaylor	15 Jan. 1759		
„	Charles Jerasmall	(?)		
Cadet	— Lyell			It is not certain whether this officer had joined at the beginning of the year. He resigned 11 Dec. 1760.

Obs.—The above list, down to Lieut.-Fireworker Buck, represents the list as it stood on the 1st of January, 1759, as far as can now be traced. The returns for the 6th of February, 1759, at which time the 2nd Company was absent with Colonel Forde's force, give one captain and eight lieutenants as present with the artillery in Bengal. It may therefore be assumed, with little doubt, that Capt.-Lieutenant Kinch served with the 2nd Company at the battle of Condore and siege of Masulipatam. Lieutenant Winwood also, it is believed, was with the 2nd Company upon the same service. It is to be noted that, in this and the following lists, the rank of fireworker includes second lieutenants, at this time a distinct grade.

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NOTE C.

OFFICERS of the BENGAL ARTILLERY on the 1st of January, 1761.

Rank.	Names.	Date of Rank.	No. of Company.	Remarks.
Captain	William Jennings	29 June, 1758	1	Acting as field-officer in general command of artillery. Retained command of his company
„	John Broadbridge	19 Sept. 1758	2	Died Oct., 1761
„	John Kinch	26 May, 1760	1	As there were only two companies of artillery at this time, this officer must have been supernumerary
Capt.-Lt.	William Dunstall	13 March (?), 1760		Died 4 July, 1761
„	Ralph Winwood	26 May, 1760		
Lieutenant	J. Vaudgreen	13 March „		
„	John Green	26 May „		
Lieut.-Fireworker	John Boylon	1758		
„	G. Burghall	(?)		
„	G. F. Kaylor	17 Jan. 1759		
„	Charles Jerasmall	1759		
„	— Filewood	1760		

NOTE D.

OFFICERS of the BENGAL ARTILLERY on the 1st of January, 1762.

Rank.	Names.	Date of Rank.	No. of Company.	Remarks.
Captain	William Jennings	29 June, 1758	1	
„	John Kinch	26 May, 1760	2	
„	Ralph Winwood	2 Nov. 1761	1	
Capt.-Lt.	John Green	4 July „		
„	John Boylon	2 Nov. „		
Lieutenant	George Burghall	4 July „		
„	G. F. Kaylor	18 Sept. „	2	
„	Charles Jerasmall	„ „		
„	George F. Hockler	16 Oct. „	2	
„	— Filewood	2 Nov. „		
„	Richard Perry	—— 1761		
Lieut.-Fireworker	John Brown	—— 1761	2	
„	Ardean Deckers	18 Sept. „	2	
„	Benjamin Adamson	„ „	2	

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NOTE E.

OFFICERS of the BENGAL ARTILLERY on the 1st of January, 1763.

Rank.	Names.	Date of Rank.	No. of Company.	Remarks.
Captain	William Jennings	29 June, 1758	1	
„	John Kinch	26 May, 1760	2	Killed at or near Patna this year.
„	Ralph Winwood	2 Nov. 1761	1	Afterwards newly raised 2nd Company
Capt.-Lt.	John Green	4 July „	1	
„	John Boylon	2 Nov. „		
Lieutenant	George Burghall	4 July „		
„	G. F. Kaylor	18 Sept. „		Killed at the battle of Giria, 2 August, 1763
„	Charles Jerasmall	„ „		
„	George F. Hockler	16 Oct. „	2	Killed at or near Patna
„	— Filewood	2 Nov. „		
„	Richard Perry		2	
Lieut.-Fireworker	John Brown	—— 1761	2	Killed at or near Patna, with the whole of the 2nd Company
„	Ardean Deckers	18 Sept. „	2	
„	Benjamin Adamson	„ „	2	
Cadet	John Read	Lieut.-Firew. 29 Jan. 1763	2	

N.B.—The Returns give the following numbers present on the 14th of February, 1763:—

2 captains—Captain Jennings in general command not included.
2 captain-lieutenants.
6 1st and 2nd lieutenants.
5 lieutenant-fireworkers.
2 adjutants.
1 quarter-master.
The above list therefore wants four names.

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NOTE F.

OFFICERS of the BENGAL ARTILLERY on the 1st of January, 1764.

Rank.	Names.	Date of Rank.	No. of Company.	Remarks.
Captain	William Jennings	29 June, 1758		
„	Ralph Winwood	2 Nov. 1761		
„	John Green	6 Sept. 1763		Promoted for good service in the attack on the lines of Udwah Nálá
Capt.-Lt.	John Boylon	2 Nov. 1761		Dismissed 29 March, 1764
„	George Burghall	13 Sept. 1763		
„	Charles Jerasmall	2 Dec. „		
„	Paul Neidrick	„ „		
Lieutenant	William Hays	3 „ „		
„	Anthony Roats	4 „ „		
„	Charles Clifton	5 „ „		
Lieut.-Fireworker	Patrick Duff	12 June, 1762		
„	John Downes	25 Jan. 1763		
„	*William Smith	14 March „		
„	Archibald Stewart	19 July „		
„	William Mason	2 Aug. „		
„	Richard Launder	12 „ „		
„	*Dennis Holland	„ „		
„	William Collins	6 Sept. „		
„	*Richard Long	17 „ „		
„	*John Bowen	18 „ „		
„	Matthew Neal	2 Dec. „		
„	Isaac Eyles Warren	3 „ „		
„	Thomas James	„ „		
„	Thomas McDonald	4 „ „		
„	J. W. Holwell	9 Jan. 1764		Resigned 2 Feb. 1764
Cadet	*Thomas Jones			

* The names of these officers do not occur in Dodwell and Miles' Army List. They are taken from a copy of the gradation list of officers, which was formerly in the regimental library at Meerut, and the General Military Register of 1795.

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NOTE G.

OFFICERS of the BENGAL ARTILLERY on the 1st of January, 1765.

Rank.	Names.	Date of Rank.	No. of Company.	Remarks.
Captain	William Jennings	29 June, 1758, Major 11 Feb. 1765	1	Promoted to major for good service, terminating in the capture of Allahabad, on 11 Feb. 1765. In general command of artillery
„	Ralph Winwood *	2 Nov. 1761	2	
„	John Green	6 Sept. 1763	1	
„	Fleming Martin	26 July, 1764	3	From Royal Artillery; 195 on Kane's list; employed as chief engineer, and commanding garrison company of artillery at Fort William
„	Nathl. Kindersley	27 July, 1764		From Royal Artillery; 328 in Kane's list; joined in June, 1765
Capt.-Lt.	George Burghall	13 Sept. 1763		Dismissed 12 March, 1765
„	Charles Jernsmall	2 Dec. „		Died this year
„	Paul Neidrick	„ „		Resigned 25 March, 1765
„	William Hays	28 Mar. 1764		Died this year
Lieutenant	Anthony Roats	4 Dec. 1763		
„	Charles Clifton	5 „ „		
„	Patrick Duff	28 Mar. 1764		
Lieut.-Fireworker	John Downes	25 Jan. 1763		
„	Arch. Stewart	19 July, „		
„	William Mason	2 Aug. „		
„	Richard Launder	12 „ „		
„	William Collins	6 Sept. „		
„	Matthew Neal	2 Dec. „		
„	Isaac E. Warren	3 „ „		
„	Thomas James	„ „		
„	Thomas McDonald	4 „ „		
„	Charles Scott	2 Feb. 1764		
„	William Elliot	3 „ „		From Royal Artillery (?); see No. 332 on Kane's list
„	John Stone	10 Mar. „		

* Transferred to the Infantry this year (Gen. Mil. Register, 1795), but his promotion seems to have gone on in the Artillery, nevertheless.

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NOTE G (*continued*).

Rank.	Name.	Date of Rank.	No. of Company.	Remarks.
Lieut.-				
Fireworker	John Volham	29 Sept. 1764		
,,	Gilbert Gibson	7 Oct. ,,		
,,	*John Dickinson	10 ,, ,,		
,,	William Hyland	6 Dec. ,,		
,,	*John Egerton	7 ,, ,,		
,,	John Bishop	27 ,, ,,		
,,	Martin Hynds	,, ,,		
,,	John Jelland	,, ,,		
,,	*William Richards	,, ,,		
Cadet	*Charles Gladstone	1764		
,,	John Yalland	1765		Resigned this year. Probably never joined

* These names do not appear in Dodwell and Miles' Army List, but have been taken from the Regimental Gradation List before referred to.

N.B.—The Returns give the following numbers present on the 6th of February, 1765:—

2 captains—Captain Jennings as before apparently not included.
3 captain-lieutenants.
3 1st lieutenants.
3 2nd lieutenants.
18 lieutenant-fireworkers.
1 adjutant.
1 quarter-master.
2 surgeons.
7 cadets and conductors.

NOTE H.

OFFICERS of the BENGAL ARTILLERY on the 1st of January, 1766.

Rank.	Names.	Date of Rank.	No. of Company.	Remarks.
Major	William Jennings	11 Dec. 1765	1	Died March, 1766
,,	Ralph Winwood	23 ,, ,,	2	Promoted, possibly by way of brevet, for good service
Captain	John Green	6 Sept. 1763		Not present, apparently. May have gone home on furlough
,,	Fleming Martin	26 July, 1764	3	Chief engineer, Fort William
,,	Nathl. Kindersley	27 ,, ,,	4	
,,	Anthony Roats	25 Oct. 1765		Resigned in 1766

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NOTE H (*continued*).

Rank.	Name.	Date of Rank.	No. of Company.	Remark.
Capt.-Lt.	*Chas. Clifton	13 Mar. 1765	2	
,,	*Patrick Duff	2 Aug. ,,	4	
,,	*Alex. Black	6 Oct. ,,	2	From Royal Artillery; 416 in Kane's list
Lieutenant	Isaac E. Warren	25 Jan. ,,		
,,	*Arch. Stewart	13 March ,,	1	
,,	*William Mason	1 Aug. ,,	4	Died 3 Nov. 1766
,,	*John Downes	20 Oct. ,,	1	
,,	Watkin Thelwall	25 Nov. ,,		Came from Madras
Lieut.-Fireworker				
,, (2nd Lt.)	Richard Launder	12 Aug. 1763		
,, (2nd Lt.)	William Collins	6 Sept. ,,	4	Died in March, 1766, at Bánkipur
,, (2nd Lt.)	*Matthew Neal	2 Dec. ,,	2	
Lieut.-Fireworker	*Thomas James	3 ,, ,,	1	
,,	*Thomas McDonald	4 ,, ,,	4	
,,	*Charles Scott	2 Feb. 1764	4	
,,	*William Elliot	3 ,, ,,	1	
,,	John Stone	10 March ,,		
,,	Edward Smith	1 June ,,		
,,	John Volham	29 Sept. ,,		
,,	Gilbert Gibson	7 Oct. ,,		
,,	Wm. Hyland (?)	6 Dec. ,,		
,,	John Bishop	27 ,, ,,		
,,	Martin Hynds (?)	,, ,,		It is not certain whether this officer was still effective
,,	John Jelland	,, ,,		Dismissed 3 April, 1766
,,	*Harry Liddell	4 Sept. 1765	2	
,,	*James Clarihue	11 Oct. ,,	1	
,,	Daniel Butler	16 Nov. ,,		
,,	*George Stranford	1766		
,,	*William Heyland	1766	1	

* These officers were more or less implicated in the Batta Mutiny of 1766, and nearly all resigned the service, but were subsequently restored, with the exception of Captain-Lieutenant Clifton and Lieutenant Downes, of whom nothing further is known.

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CHAPTER II.

CAPTURE OF DHÁLIMKOT, 1772-73—FIRST ROHILLA CAMPAIGN, 1774—Constitution of the force employed—Battle of St. George's day—Award of prize-money—AFFAIR OF KORA, 1776—OPERATIONS OF THE BOMBAY DETACHMENT, 1778-1784—Assembly of a force under Colonel Leslie—His death—Colonel Goddard commands—His march across the peninsula—Desertions very frequent—Praise of the artillery—Bombay force advances on Poona—Retreats—Shameful convention of Wargâm—Goddard moves upon Surat—Capture of DUBHOY—Of AHMADÁBÁD—Attack on Sindiah and Holkar—Capture of BASSIN—Goddard moves upon Poona—But retreats with loss—Peace concluded—Rewards and honorary decorations conferred—Names of artillery officers employed—OPERATIONS AGAINST THE MÁHRÁTÁS UNDER MAJOR W. POPHAM AND COLONEL JACOB CAMAC, 1780-81—Major Popham crosses the Jumna—Capture of LAHÁR—Description of GWALIOR—Its capture by a daring *coup-de-main*—Colonel Camac succeeds to the command—He advances to Sironj—Has to retreat—Turns and defeats Sindiah—Peace and return of troops to cantonments—OPERATIONS IN THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES, 1781—Outbreak at Benares—Major Popham ordered up—Captain Mayaffre's disaster at Rámnagar—Flight of Warren Hastings—Enemy attacked and defeated at Patita—Lieut.-Fireworker E. J. Baillie—Major Crabb's detachment marches across the hills—Lieut. Baillie again mentioned—Capture of PATITA and BIJIGARH—Large distribution of prizes—Names of artillery officers.

CAPTURE OF DHÁLIMKOT.

IN the latter end of 1772, the Bhutiya tribes from the mountain state of Bhután descended into the plains, and overran the province of Kuch Behár. Captain John Jones was ordered up from the Presidency with the 6th Regiment, N.I., to drive out the marauders. A detail

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of artillery, under Lieutenant Robert Bruce, from either the 3rd or 5th Company, both of which were then stationed in Fort William, accompanied it. The service was said to have been arduous, but very little is known of it. The Bhutiyas were driven back into the mountains, followed up, and the fort of Dhálimkot stormed and taken after a short resistance. This fort had the misfortune to be a second time, in October, 1864, taken by a British force.

First Rohilla Campaign.

The Musalmáns of Rohilkhand, descended from the Patháns of a far-off province of Afghánistán, have retained the courage as well as the turbulent and faithless character of their race, and may still be distinguished in these respects and by the fairness of their complexions. But, whatever were the allegations against them, little excuse can be made on the side of the English for the various negotiations and intrigues which culminated in an attack upon Háfiz Rahmat and the other chiefs of that country. They, however, form no part of this history.

1774 February — Colonel Champion, commander-in-chief in Bengal, took command in February, 1774, of a force which was to co-operate with the Vazir of Oudh in the invasion of the Rohilla provinces. It was composed of the following troops :—

Artillery.

A. 19 R. A. 1774. — 2nd Company, under Captain A. W. Baillie.

Infantry.

2nd European Regiment.

The Select Picket.*

2nd Brigade Native Infantry under Colonel Primrose Galliez, consisting of the 1st, 8th, 10th, 16th, 18th, and 20th Battalions N.I.

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* The Select Picket was composed of young cadets who had not yet received their commissions as officers, owing to the want of vacancies,

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Major J. Macgregor Murray * was military secretary and aide-de-camp to the commander-in-chief. 1774

In the middle of April Colonel Champion, having united with the Oudh forces, entered Rohilkhand, and moved towards Miránpur Katra, near which the Rohilla army was posted. Crossing the Baighul river on the 23rd, they met them drawn up on the other side, to the number of about 40,000† men. Little or no opposition was made to the force as it crossed the stream and deployed into line, but as it came into sight the enemy's fire opened. The action was fought entirely by the English, the Vazir even refusing Colonel Champion the use of some of his guns. He would have to pay for the services of his allies, and he intended to make use of them to the utmost. April

So the Oudh forces—horse, foot, and artillery—looked on while the English fought. The Rohillas did what they could both with guns and rockets. "They made," said Colonel Champion, in his letter to Warren Hastings, "repeated attempts to charge; but our guns, being so much better served than theirs, kept so constant and galling a fire, that they could not advance, and where they were closest was the greatest slaughter."

The cannonade and musketry fire continued for two hours and twenty minutes, during which time the enemy made frequent attacks on both flanks; but when the

and at this time was nearly one hundred strong. They were armed and drilled as soldiers, and were considered a very efficient and well-disciplined body of young men. Cadets George Hardyman (died a lieut.-general in 1836), Henry White (died a major-general and K.C.B. in 1832), Gabriel Martindell (died a lieut.-general and K.C.B. in 1831), and William Nevil Cameron (died a lieut.-general of Engineers at Bath, in 1837), were with it at this time.

* Afterwards Sir John Macgregor Murray, Bart. Retired 5th December, 1798. His brother, Alexander Macgregor Murray, was also aide-de-camp to Colonel Champion.

† This is Colonel Champion's estimate.

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1774 April whole line advanced rapidly at the charge, they turned and fled, leaving about 2000 dead on the field, among whom was the chief himself, Háfiz Rahmat Khán, worthy of a better fate. Then, for the first time, did the troops of Oudh come forward to gather in the harvest of plunder reaped by the arms of our soldiers. Such will always be the result if we allow a native contingent, under its own leaders, to share a campaign with us.

But little remained to be done after this. The army marched to Bisaoli, about thirty miles west of Bareilly, whence it moved again northwards against Faizullah Khán, who was now the head of the Rohillas; and the campaign was closed immediately after by a treaty between the Vazir of Oudh and the Pathán chief. A donation of ten and a half lákh of rupees * was paid by the former to the army, a part of the proceedings which doubtless had some influence in silencing any objections that might have been made to the origin of the war. The prize roll † gives the names of the artillery officers employed, viz. :—

Captain	A. W. Baillie.
Capt.-Lieutenant	Daniel Butler.
Lieutenant	George Deare.
,, ...	Vere Warner Hussey.
,, ...	Charles Clark.
,, ...	Stuart Cummings.
Lieut.-Fireworker	Benjamin Doxat.
,, ...	Hugh Lyon.
Cadet	William Sibbald.‡

* As the prevailing exchange then was 2s. 6d. per rupee with England, this represented £130,000; rather a large sum for so small a force. The amount of each share for the different ranks is given in the appendix to this chapter, Note A.

† Minutes of Council, dated 28th Dec. 1792.

‡ This officer was afterwards removed to the infantry.

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AFFAIR OF KORA. 1776

The 2nd Company of Artillery, which on its return A-19 R.A.
from Rohilkhand, in 1774, was stationed at Belgrám, in the Hardui district of the province of Oudh, was shortly afterwards again employed on service. A detachment, which however must have comprised the greater part of the company, with four guns was sent, but the names of the officers with it have not been traced.

It had been proposed to appoint British officers to command the Oudh troops; and as the measure was objected to by the soldiers, still more by those who commanded them, they became very mutinous. One Mahbub Khán was with a large body of them and a park of artillery near the town of Kora, of which district he *See* PLATE II.
was the governor, and being foremost among the disaffected, it was determined to deprive him of his guns. Lieutenant-Colonel John Neville Parker was detached upon this service, with the 15th and 16th Battalions of native infantry and the detail of artillery above mentioned. Kora is about twenty-five miles south of Cawnpore. Colonel Parker moved down the Doáb in the end of May; and in the beginning of June, hearing that June
Mahbub Khán, with seven battalions and nineteen guns, was at Kora, within a few miles of him, marched to meet them by night, and came up with them by sunrise. They had been informed of his approach, but not of his intentions, and were drawn up to receive him in crescent form, both wings advanced and the guns in the centre. The disparity of the two forces probably assisted in disarming suspicion, and, as the sepoys' muskets were loaded, there was no unusual movement in the column as it approached; so the Oudh troops fired a salute of nineteen guns as a compliment to the English "paltans," of which

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1776 June

Lieutenant-Colonel Parker took no notice whatever, but marched on till within fifty or sixty paces. Then he deployed at the halt. Mahbub Khán was not present, but the next in command, on being called, advanced and asked what the colonel sáhib's orders were. The latter, standing in front of his men, replied that he must have the guns; to which the other said that he must consult the commander of the artillery. He being called for, declared "that he had lived a man of honour for forty years, and that he would not now disgrace himself by giving up what had been entrusted to his charge." The lieutenant-colonel simply said he would give him half an hour to consider, and that if he did not surrender them then, he would take them. Standing where he was, between the two lines, he pulled out his watch, and held it in his hand, while anxious faces, brightened or shaded by very different feelings, regarded him from either side. At the expiration of the given time he deliberately told the orderly drummer standing at his side to beat "the general," the signal for action.* The men, taking from their leader the example of steady coolness, delivered their fire regularly by subdivisions, while the guns were served with grape. The Oudh troops returned the fire,

* It is hardly necessary to say that the drum was used then to give all the signals now made by sound of bugle or trumpet. In a copy of directions for artillery drill, laid down by Lord Cornwallis and Colonel T. D. Pearse, dated Fort William, August 1st, 1788, I find the following mentioned:—

Ruffle	Man the guns.
Grenadiers' March	March.
Flam	Halt.
Two Flams	Dress in open order.
Flam, Ruffle, and Flam	Quick firing.
Long Roll	Cease firing.
Point of War	Change front to the right.
Last part of Water Beat ...	Form square.

I do not pretend to translate these terms into modern English: perhaps some ancient pensioned drummer may be able to do so.

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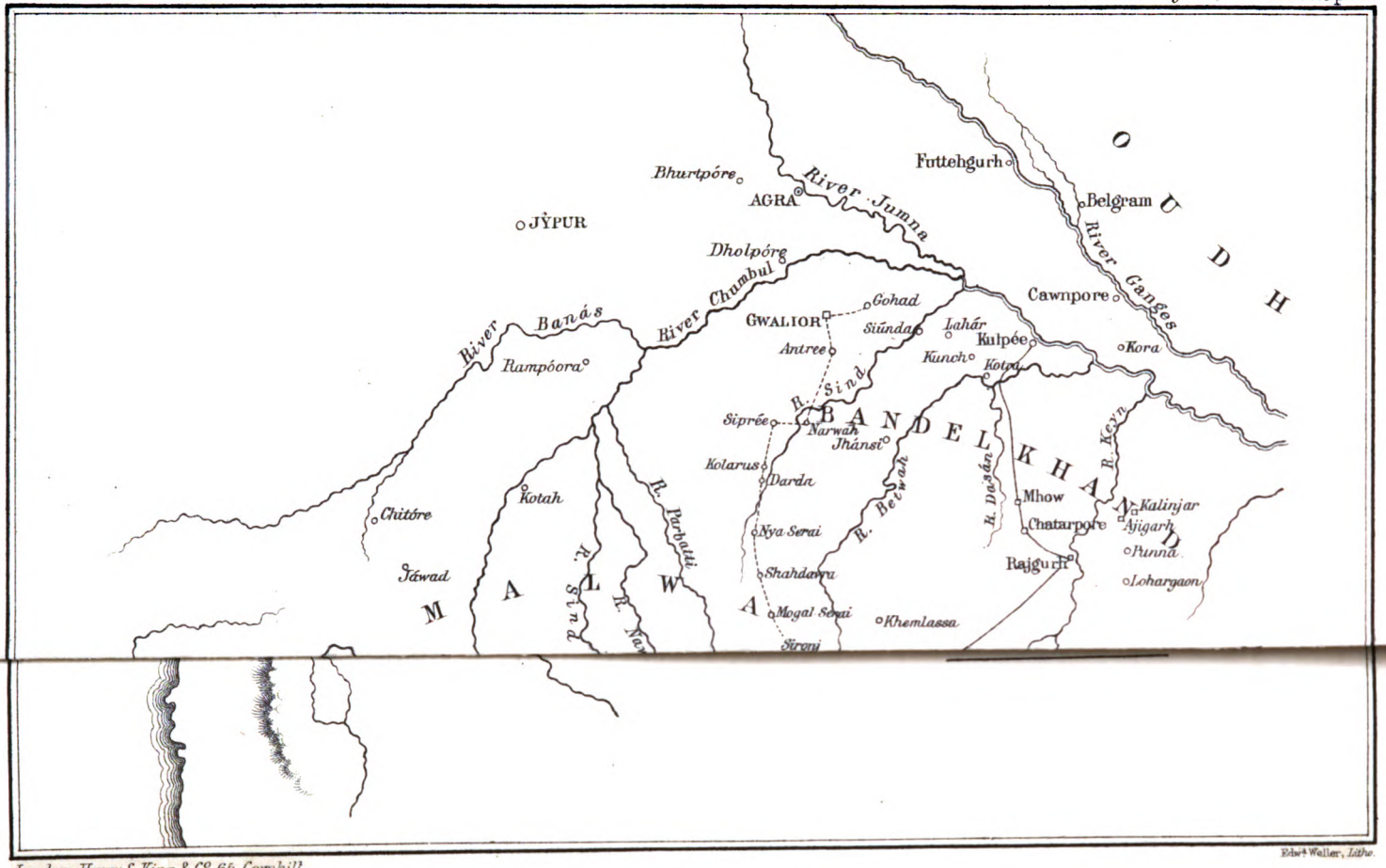

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and at such close quarters it necessarily told severely. But before they could load a second time, Lieutenant-Colonel Parker charged with the bayonet, and they fled in every direction, leaving the guns, which were immediately secured and taken back in triumph to Belgrám. Of the casualties on this occasion but little record appears to have been kept. Lieutenant J. Erskine, N.I., interpreter to Lieutenant-Colonel Parker, was killed, and Captain T. Gravely, commanding the 15th N.I., died of his wounds. 1776 June

This affair has been related a little in detail, as it is not very well known; but it reflected credit upon the troops engaged for their steadiness and coolness—the most valuable qualities soldiers can exhibit.

Operations of the Bombay Detachment.

In 1778, Mr. Hastings determined to send a force from Bengal to assist the Government of Bombay in establishing Ragonáth Ráo as the head of the Máhrátá power in the interests of the English. Despite the opposition, in the Calcutta council, of Messrs. Francis and Wheler, this was carried out, and a force was assembled at Allahabad under Colonel M. Leslie, who was held in some reputation as an officer, which however was not supported by his conduct of this detachment. It consisted of the 1st, 2nd, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th Battalions of sepoys, 500 Kandahár * horse, and the 1st Company of Golandáz,† which had been raised for the service of the Nawáb of Oudh in August of the preceding year. Captain Cockerell was quarter-master general. Major A. W. Baillie commanded the artillery. 1778 *See* Plate II.

* These were drawn from the Nawáb of Oudh's service.

† Native artillerymen; from *gola*, a ball, and *andáz*, root of *andákhtan*, to throw.

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1778 A park of four 12-pounder guns, twelve 6-pounder guns, and two howitzers was attached. Lieutenant Robert Bruce and, probably, Alexander Forbes were with the Golandáz at this time; but a list of all the officers of the corps who served with the detachment is given below.

The force crossed the river Jumna at Kálpi, in the latter end of May, and commenced its march into Bandelkhand on the 3rd of June. The first day's exposure to the fierce hot winds prevalent at this season, moving through a country almost destitute of water, was attended with suffering long remembered by those who felt it, and caused a great loss of life. Chattarpur, the capital town then of the district, was reached; and here the force encamped during the rains. During this detention Colonel Thomas Goddard took by storm the town of Mau, with trifling loss. When the rains were over, Colonel Leslie did not however advance. He remained, carrying on useless negotiations with the petty chiefs of Bandelkhand, till Mr. Hastings at last sent an order removing him from a command his health unfitted him for. But his death took place on the 3rd of October, before its receipt, and Colonel Goddard succeeded him.

The project of sending a small force to march across the Indian peninsula, through countries unmapped and entirely unknown to any of its officers, was a daring one; the more so as it was accompanied by the complement of camp followers usual in those days, which made an estimated addition of about 40,000 souls to the 7000 fighting men.[1] But Goddard, in effecting this change of his base of operations, showed himself possessed of energy and resource, of judgment and determination. The rapidity of his movements must have considerably lessened the number of useless hangers-on to the camp

[1] E. I. Mil. Cal. ii. 419.

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who had left Kálpi. The detachment had moved to Rájgarh on the river Ken, and while there had come into collision with Máhrátá cavalry troops. Leaving this place in November, he moved south-west and reached Hoshangábád, on the river Nerbudda, on the 1st of December, a distance of 285 miles. Here he waited for orders from Calcutta and information respecting the proceedings of the Bombay authorities, to whom he communicated his movements. 1778

He was now on the borders of the Berár state, with which his Government was upon friendly terms; but he had not got so far without considerable difficulty. In fact, had it not been for the assistance, ill requited afterwards, afforded by the small state of Bhopál, Goddard would probably have had to return. Not only were the troops harassed on the march and in camp daily by predatory bands of enemies, but the sepoys, who had freely tasted of the severities of service, and dreaded the increasing distance between their tents and their homes, deserted in such numbers that Colonel Goddard published an order on the 1st of November, commenting strongly on the "unmilitary and unexampled feeling of disaffection" displayed. This order bore honourable testimony to the native artillery, who had not followed suit. It concluded as follows:—

"The Commanding Officer, with much pleasure, excepts the corps of Artillery in the foregoing observations. Their steadiness, fidelity, and military conduct claim his particular thanks; and he desires the Commanding Officer will assure himself that he will make proper mention of their merits to the Honourable the Governor-General in Council."

While Goddard was waiting at Hoshangábád the Government of Bombay had commenced operations. A force of nearly 4500 men was put in motion towards

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1778 Poona, the capital of the Peshwa. To it was attached a committee, composed of Colonel Egerton (who also commanded it), Colonel Cornac, and Mr. Mostyn, under the title of "field deputies," to control the movements of the army; and thus was prepared the way for one of those "errors of judgment" which protract war and are only expiated by the blood of brave men. Its progress was so slow * that any preparations for resistance could have been made by the enemy. Leaving Bombay early
December in December, the column ascended the ghát without opposition, and on the 23rd reached Khandálla. Securing the head of the pass by a fortified post, it moved on; the enemy retiring before them, but harassing them by attacking their line of communication and cutting off supplies. With provisions for twenty-five days, however, much might have been done; though they were not joined, as was expected, by any considerable number of Ragonáth's adherents. So that on the 9th, when only sixteen miles from the capital, they found, as might have been expected, an army waiting to dispute their way. No battle was fought. But on the night of the 11th a retreat was begun; and thus, whatever was the physical strength of the enemy's force, its power was more than doubled by the moral effect, and that of the English reduced in proportion. Retreat was of course the signal for attack, and till four o'clock p.m. on the 12th it was kept up with all the vigour that the Máhrátá cavalry could exert. Captain James Hartley, who covered the movements with a corps of grenadiers, mainly contributed to

* Colonel Egerton divided his force into two brigades and a reserve, which advanced alternately at the rate of about three-quarters of a mile daily—the march rarely exceeding two miles. Thus the army took eleven days getting from Khandálla to Kárli—eight miles! It would be impossible to credit this, were it not stated by a writer of the highest authority (Duff, ii. 366).

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save the army from worse disaster. The result of this was the convention known as that of Wargám, by which, among other disgraceful concessions, the force from Bengal was to be sent back to Calcutta. 1779 January

Goddard, in the mean time, had marched from Hoshangábád on the 16th, reached Charwáh on the 22nd, and the city of Burhánpur on the 30th—a distance of 153 miles. Contradictory orders from the Bombay Government and from the army deputies made him wait here for better information; but it was not the pause of indecision. On the 5th of February, news having arrived from the Rájá of Berár of what had befallen the Bombay army, he altered his course and next day started for Surat, where he arrived on the 25th, a distance of 223 miles. A vakil from Poona met him on the 9th, bearing the letter from the field deputies, according to the terms of the convention; but Colonel Goddard, showing that he had the orders of the supreme government and returning a civil reply, continued his march, and so defeated the endeavours of the Máhrátás to bar his way. February

With the rank of brigadier-general, political powers were conferred upon Goddard about this time; and though this to a certain extent rendered him independent of the Bombay Government, his judgment and good feeling prevented any complication from arising. Hostilities were not commenced at once. Negotiations with the Máhrátá Minister, Nána Farnávis, and Fateh Singh Gáikwár occupied the rest of the year. On the 1st of January he moved across the river Tápti, and as soon as his battery train and stores from Bharoch had joined, proceeded to attack the fort of Dubhái, which was summoned on the 18th, and was evacuated by the garrison on the night of the 19th. From thence 1780 January

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1780 February — General Goddard marched against Ahmadábád, which he reached on the 10th of February. The batteries opened on the 12th, and the place was stormed and taken on the morning of the 15th, with the loss of 106 killed * and wounded.

Meanwhile Sindiah and Holkar, with upwards of 20,000 horse, were moving up, and crossing the river Nerbudda, they took post at Baroda; but Goddard advancing to give battle, they retired upon Páwangarh, March — where they remained all March. On the 27th Goddard was within six miles of the enemy, and so lay till the April — 2nd of April, when, thinking them sufficiently off their guard, he prepared for an attack that night. The force employed was ten companies of grenadier sepoys, headed by the two grenadier companies of the Bombay European Regiment; two battalions of Bengal and one of Bombay N.I.; the Bengal cavalry and Kandahár horse, with 12 pieces of artillery. Lieutenant-Colonel A. W. Baillie, Bengal Artillery, commanded the first line, and Major Hopkins the second. They passed through the enemy's outposts; but it was daylight when they reached their camp, and the effect of a surprise was lost. The enemy mounted and fled, and, pursued by the Kandahár horse, suffered some loss.

The rest of the season, till the commencement of the rains, passed in watching Sindiah's movements. As soon as the season admitted of it, he commenced his preparations for attacking the fort of Bassein. The Europeans were sent by sea to Salsette Island; and, October — on the 16th of October, Goddard marched from Surat with the rest of his force. He was joined by a reinforcement of Bombay troops, among which were 100

* The officers killed were Major Spaith, Bombay Engineers; Captain Thomas Gough, Bengal N.I.; and Mr. Wright, a volunteer.

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artillerymen, under command of Captain J. S. Torriano, Bombay Artillery. Eight companies of sepoys were left to strengthen the Gáikwár's garrison of Ahmadábád; two battalions of Bengal N.I. were stationed at Sinor, on the Nerbudda; two Bombay battalions were left at Surat and Bharoch, under Major John Forbes, a Bengal officer of approved merit; and Lieutenant-Colonel James Hartley, with five battalions of N.I., covered the siege to the southward against Nána Farnávis and Hari Pant. 1780 October

General Goddard appeared before Bassein on the 13th of November, and, finding on reconnoitring that the place was very strong, commenced by regular approaches against the northern face. His large siege equipment enabled him to man very heavy batteries. The first opened on the 28th at 900 yards; others were placed at 800 and 500 yards. One of twenty mortars * at the latter distance did considerable execution. On the 11th of December the place surrendered, the loss on our side being only 13 men, including Lieutenant Sir J. Gordon, who died of his wounds. November December

When the whole force was united under General Goddard, as commander-in-chief of the Bombay army, to which he had some time before been nominated, a difference arose regarding rank between Lieutenant-Colonels Hartley and Baillie. The former had been promoted for his distinguished services, before alluded to, direct from the rank of captain to that of lieutenant-colonel, in February, 1779; the latter, an officer of much longer standing, and previously his senior, was promoted from major to lieutenant-colonel, on the 16th September, 1779. The Court of Directors had, in con-

* This number is given on Captain Duff's authority, but there was probably more than one battery.

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1780 December sequence of representations made to them by those whom Lieutenant-Colonel Hartley had thus superseded, ordered that his pay and precedence should remain in abeyance till those who formerly were his seniors should be promoted; and Lieutenant-Colonel Baillie therefore claimed and obtained priority in command. This caused Lieutenant-Colonel Hartley to leave the army and go home.

1781 The reduction of the fort of Arnál on the 18th of January, 1781, succeeded; and Goddard, thinking that a direct blow would be of more utility than the reduction in detail of the numerous strong forts over the country, moved upon Poona. This was a mistake; for, as Captain Grant Duff observes, it was only a half measure, Goddard not being strong enough to carry it out effectually. His army, composed of soldiers from the three Presidencies, consisted of—

	Europeans.	Natives.	Total.
Artillery	124*	97	221
Lascars and Pioneers ...		200	200
Cavalry		700	700
Infantry	516	4515	5031
		Total	6152

The Bhor Ghát was again forced; and the advance, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel John Neville Parker, of the Bengal N.I., the same officer who had distinguished himself by the affair at Kora, was established at Khandálla, while Goddard remained at the fort of the Pass of Kampoli.

April The enemy meanwhile were not idle. While Nána with the main army attacked in front, a body of 12,000

* One company of Bombay and one Madras Artillery. The latter joined General Goddard on the 6th April, 1780.

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men under Parsrám Bháo got in rear and seriously harassed the force, and obstructed its communications. General Goddard therefore, on the 15th of April, prepared to retreat. By the 19th he had sent his guns and baggage down the ghát; but the Máhrátás were awake, and he did not reach Pánwill, where he arrived on the evening of the 23rd, without heavy loss. Lieutenant-Colonel J. N. Parker, N.I., Lieutenant Gibson,* and Surgeon Penny, of the Madras Artillery, were killed; Lieutenants W. Rattray and F. W. Rutledge, one of the Bengal, the other of the Madras Artillery, were wounded. After remaining for some time at Pánwill, the army marched into cantonments at Kalián for the rains, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel A. W. Baillie. 1781 April

The negotiations for peace which were going on at the end of this year kept the army from any important movements. It was concluded at Salbye on the 17th of May next year, but the treaties were not exchanged till the following February. The detachment which had left Bengal in 1779, now under command of Colonel Charles Morgan, reduced to about half its original strength, was ordered back by the route it had come, and reached Cawnpore in April, 1784. Some European artillerymen who returned with it were posted to the 1st Company, 2nd Battalion, at that station, where the company of Golandáz were also kept. 1782 1783 1784

Warren Hastings, always foremost to acknowledge the services of his soldiers, when publishing a welcoming order to the force which in January, 1785, had returned from Madras, referred to both detachments as follows:—

"The Governor-General and Council further direct that, in acknowledgment of the services of the two great detachments which

* It does not appear to what service this officer belonged.

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1784 have served in the Carnatic and the west of India, an additional pay of two rupees per month be granted to each non-commissioned officer and private of the European corps; and one rupee per month to each non-warrant officer and sepoy of the native corps composing those detachments who were originally attached to the same on the march to their respective destinations, and returned with them."—G.G.O. Fort William, 22nd January, 1785.

1785 Medals were also issued for the native soldiers employed in Mysore and Bombay, regarding which Captain Buckle says, "We are not sure whether medals for these services can now be found; We have been able to obtain a medal, the reverse of which is illegible, which we are induced to believe was given to one of these detachments (probably Colonel Goddard's), and the fort in the distance representing Ahmadábád. A drawing of it is annexed. We have also been informed by an old native officer that the medal was of the same pattern for both detachments."

The following are the names of the Bengal Artillery officers who served in Bombay:—

Lieut.-Colonel A. W. Baillie	Not on the return subsequent to April, 1781. Retired in 1782.
Captain S. Sears*	Joined March, 1781.
Lieutenant R. Bruce	Sent to Major Popham's detachment in 1781.
,, A. Forbes ...	Died in 1779.
,, J. Kemptz*	
,, R. Hamilton*	
,, J. Harris	Died 16th August, 1780.
,, W. Rattray.	
,, H. Cotes	Died in 1782, in China, whither he must have gone sick.
,, A. Rattray ...	Joined October, 1779. Died at sea, 1782.
Lieut.-Fireworker J. McLean*	Joined March, 1781.
,, B. Boyce ...	Joined December, 1782. Returned sick March, 1783.
,, G. Raban*	Joined in 1782.

* Returned with detachment to Cawnpore in 1784.

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Operations against the Máhrátás under Major Wm. Popham and Colonel Jacob Camac.

A draft of sepoys had been formed in 1779, for the purpose of reinforcing Brigadier-General Goddard in Bombay, but it was not allowed to undertake the march across the peninsula, and was ordered to Cawnpore. Next year, the Ráná of Gohad, whose country was overrun by the Máhrátás, claimed our assistance, and a treaty was concluded, in consequence of which this body of sepoys was augmented to 2400 men, and formed into four battalions,* under command of Major William Popham. A small park of field-pieces, manned by the 2nd Company, 1st Battalion of Artillery, then commanded by Captain James Mayaffre, was sent. The subalterns were Lieutenants Alexander Legertwood and Charles Vernon. 1779 1780 1-22 R. A

In February Major Popham crossed the Jumna, and drove away a body of Máhrátás who were plundering near Gohad. At the request of the Ráná he marched against the fort of Lahár, about fifty miles west of Kálpi. It was attacked; but as breaching with field-pieces was impracticable, Major Popham gave orders for the storm. The assaulting party consisted of the 2nd Battalion, with the grenadiers of the 1st. Lieutenant James Logan and Cornet William Gardiner, leading the forlorn hope, both fell in the breach, and a volunteer, Mr. O'Dell, rushed forward to take command. After a severe struggle the place was carried, with the loss of 125 men. Lieutenant W. N. Cameron was field engineer, and directed the attack. This fortress was

* Captain Grant Duff (ii. 481) says three battalions, and he is very accurate in his statements. Other accounts, however, give four, and Captains McClary and W. Bruce are mentioned as commanding the 2nd and 4th. The point is not of importance.

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1780 considered so strong that Sir Eyre Coote, commander-in-chief, hearing of Major Popham's proceeding against it, had induced the Governor-General to prepare another force, with a battering train, in the event of failure. This force, under Major Jacob Camac, was employed in the subsequent operations.

The fortress of Gwalior, which has so often changed hands, and is one of the important forts in India, was at this time in the possession of Sindiah, and the Ráná of Gohad had long wished to recover it, but it was beyond his power to take it. The accompanying plan will give a tolerable idea of the nature of its defences. Like many other strongholds, it crowns an isolated height, without other tracing than that laid down by the form of the steep-sided hill, and therefore derived its strength more from the difficulty of approaching it than from the scientific disposition of the defensive fire. Major Popham was encamped during the rains within five kos of this place. It appears that a body of men, who lived chiefly by plunder—a profession common to all countries, but in India practised most successfully by certain well-known castes or tribes—had been in the habit of getting into the fortress by climbing the rock and scaling the wall. They had proposed this method of obtaining its possession to the Ráná. But what men will do for the lust of gain, armed in a better cause they will often shrink from; and the Ráná did not like to risk the attempt. Major Popham, on hearing of it, thought it worth a trial, and sent men to reconnoitre. As it appeared feasible, he made his arrangements with the utmost secrecy, and scaling ladders being prepared, on the night of the 3rd of August Captain William Bruce * was placed in com-

See PLAN III.

* A cadet of 1764. This officer was noted for his ability, courage, and decision. He was a brother of the celebrated traveller and African explorer.

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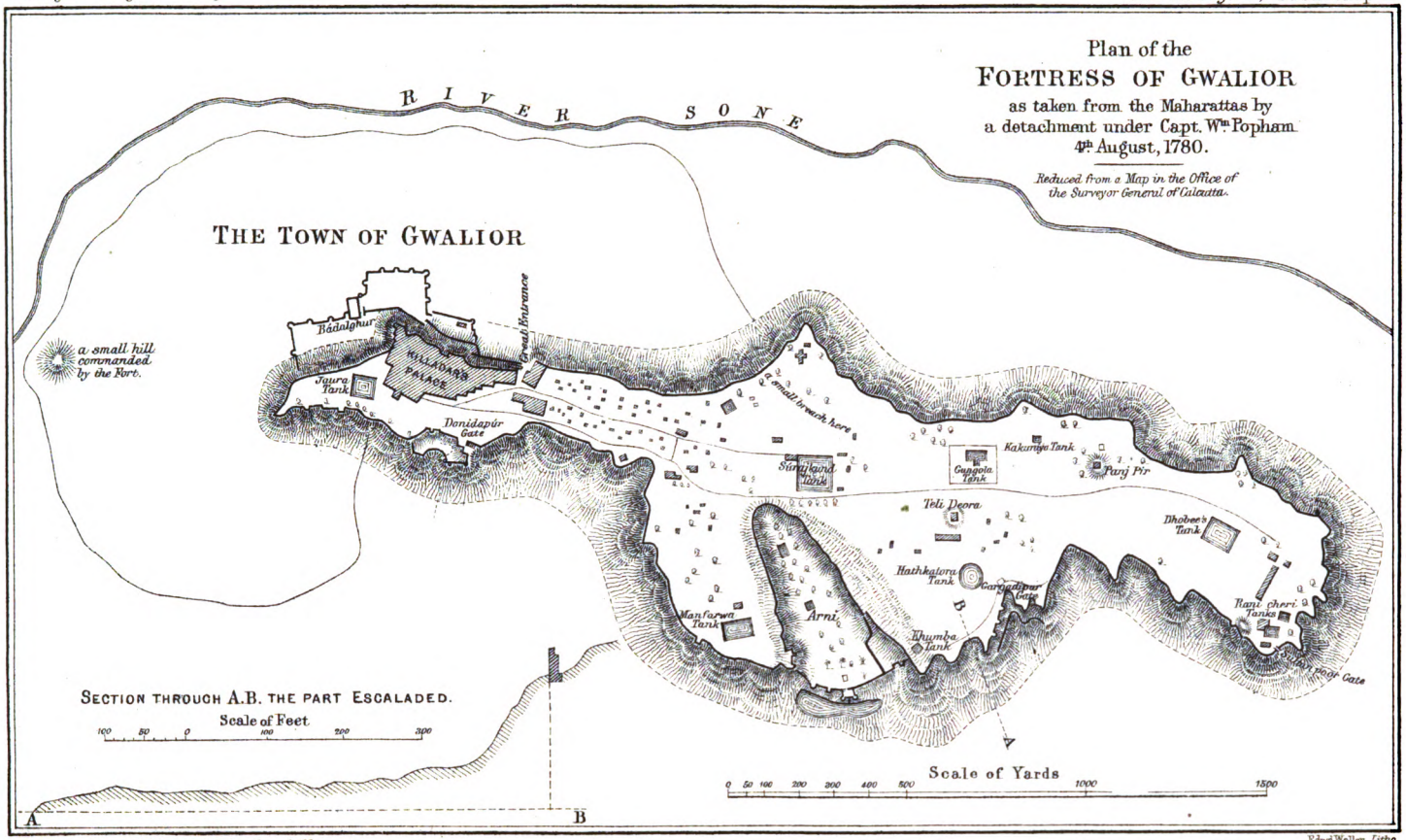

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mand of the party which was to storm, consisting of two companies of sepoys led by Lieutenants George Wilson, Scott, R. S. Allen, and Paterson, followed by an immediate support of twenty gunners of Captain Mayaffre's company; but whether these were accompanied by an officer or not does not appear. Major Popham himself, with two battalions, one of which was the 2nd, under Captain McClary, completed the column of attack. To deaden the sound of their movements the men had woollen slippers, padded with cotton. At 11 o'clock p.m. the whole detachment marched from Raipur, eight miles distant, and through unfrequented paths reached the foot of the rock before daybreak. From below they could see the lights which accompanied the rounds as they passed along to visit the sentries. Waiting till all was quiet, and knowing the custom of Indian sentries to take repose between rounds, they climbed the rock. Lieutenant William Nevil Cameron, the engineer officer, mounting a ladder, made fast a rope to the top of the wall, and Captain Bruce with twenty sepoys climbed up and sat down underneath the parapet, waiting for the rest. Three of the latter had nearly ruined all; for, finding some of the garrison asleep near, they thoughtlessly fired upon them, and of course the enemy took the alarm. Captain Bruce, however, stood his ground; darkness favoured him, and concealed his weakness of numbers, till additional reinforcements mounting, they were driven back. Major Popham had by this time arrived with more troops. He gained ground step by step, till most of the garrison fled disheartened and the chief officers, with some men who had taken refuge in some buildings near the principal gate, surrendered. 1780

The whole resistance lasted about a couple of hours. The loss on our side was only 20 men wounded. Bápoji,

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1780 the Máhrátá commandant, was killed. Daring achievements such as these have built up the English name and preserved its prestige in adversity. The fortress was retained for ten months, and then made over to the Ráná of Gohad, from whom Sindiah, two years after, retook it by stratagem. Towards the end of the year Major Popham was sent to Mirzapore, being replaced in the command by Lieutenant-Colonel Jacob Camac. Captain Mayaffre's company of artillery also proceeded to the same station, and the 1st Company, 2nd Battalion, under Captain Ezekiel Macklewaine, took its place. The officers with the latter were Captain-Lieutenants Charles Scott, Lieutenants A. Legertwood, Robert Hart, and Glass.* The force now amounted to above 5000 men, and was intended to undertake active operations against Sindiah.

Reduced in 1825

1781 Colonel Camac therefore advanced from Gwalior, took the fort of Sipri, where Lieutenant Robert B. Gregory, of the native infantry, was wounded. From thence he proceeded in a southerly direction as far as Sironj, where he met Sindiah in the middle of February.

Halting here, he was much harassed by the enemy, whose predatory bands of cavalry cut off his supplies and reduced him to such distress that he sent urgent requisitions for assistance to Colonel Charles Morgan, then commanding the English forces in Oudh, who despatched Lieutenant-Colonel Granger Muir, with three battalions of infantry, two regiments of cavalry, and the 1st Company, 1st Battalion of Artillery, to his assistance. The camp was, however, attacked by Sindiah, who cannonaded it for seven days; and Colonel Camac

Reduced in 1825

* Whether this was Andrew or John Glass does not appear. There were two officers of this name in the Bengal Artillery at this time, both lieutenants.

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determined upon a retreat. This was begun on the night of the 7th of March, without the enemy becoming aware of the move; but they pressed him hard the two succeeding days. Arriving at Mahátpur, he levied contributions of food on the village, and then showed a front to the enemy. 1781

In this position he waited, Sindiah encamping each night only about six miles off, till at the suggestion of Captain W. Bruce, who had led the storming party at Gwalior, he made, on the night of the 24th of March, an attack on the Máhrátá camp. Boldly planned, and as boldly executed, it was perfectly successful. There is this difference between the "chapáo" of Máhrátá or Pindári cavalry and an attack of this kind, skilfully carried out as they have been at various times by English leaders—that the one has for its object to harass, carry off cattle or plunder, with little or perhaps no loss to themselves; the other means more than mischief, it intends defeat. So it was in this instance. Sindiah's force was routed and dispersed; 13 guns, three elephants, with camels, horses, ammunition, and, what was very acceptable, a large store of grain, were captured. In this action Lieutenant Thomas Shaw, the quarter-master of the native infantry, seeing the standard elephant of Sindiah separated from the force, crossed the river Sind with an orderly trooper and captured it. This brilliant achievement secured the force from further molestation till the arrival of Colonel Muir with his detachment on the 4th of April. This officer, being senior, assumed command; and the force remained in Sindiah's territories till after the rains, occasionally somewhat straitened for supplies, when the negotiations which Colonel Muir was empowered to open with the enemy terminated in the conclusion of peace in October. The force was then

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1781 directed to return to the provinces, where it was broken up. The 1st Company, 1st Battalion of Artillery proceeded to Fatehgarh, and Captain Macklewaine's to Cawnpore.

OPERATIONS IN THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES IN 1781.

August *See* PLATE IV. When Warren Hastings, on the 16th of August, 1781, placed Chet Singh, the Rájá of Benares, in arrest, and his followers the same day attacked and massacred the two companies of native infantry placed over him as a guard, Major W. Popham arrived too late to be of any assistance. The Rájá had fled to Latifpur, a strong fort of his, about ten miles south-east from Chunár, leaving Rámnagar, his usual residence near Benares, under charge of the Kiladár Gajráj Singh. Hastings ordered Lieutenant-Colonel W. Blair, commanding at Chunár, to send up a battalion, which was to halt at a safe distance from Rámnagar and wait for orders, and also to despatch four 6-pounders, two tumbrils of ammunition, one 8-inch and one 10-inch mortar, 100 shells and 200 fuzes each, with powder, to meet Captain J. Mayaffre, of the artillery, who, with the remainder of Popham's detach-
1-22 R. A. ment (2nd Company, 1st Battalion of Artillery, four companies N.I., and a company of French Rangers), was ordered up from Mirzapore. Major Popham had selected a convenient spot on the left bank of the Ganges from a mortar battery opposite to Rámnagar, and sent orders to Captain Mayaffre to avoid hostilities till he came up. Rámnagar consisted of a great pile of irregular, massive stone buildings on the river side, and partly within the bed; and round it had grown a town, the narrow windings of which rendered approach difficult.

On the 17th of August, immediately after receiving from the Governor-General the order to march, Captain

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Mayaffre set out, replying that he would observe "his directions in every respect, and otherwise acting to the best of his judgment for the good of the service." Impelled, however, by a sanguine temper, with the hope of acquiring a reputation, and probably encouraged by his recollection of the successful attack, in the previous year, on Gwalior, he determined, on being joined by Captain Thomas Blair with the regiment sent from Chunár by Colonel Blair, to attack Rámnagar at once.* This was contrary to the advice of the other officers. Apparently without waiting to reconnoitre or form a plan, he marched at once into the narrow streets, where the column was presently exposed to a heavy fire. Captain Mayaffre himself was killed, and Captain Doxat, commanding the Rangers, also fell, with 23 of his men. Altogether, the artillery and infantry had 107 killed and 72 wounded; and two field guns and a howitzer were abandoned. This unfortunate affair—as such disasters ever have done in India, and still will do, if repeated—raised up a swarm of enemies, and obliged Warren Hastings to retreat to Chunár: a flight which gave rise to the well-known, but often misquoted, distich:— 1781 August

"Ghora par howdah, háthi par zin,
Jaldi bhág giya Warren Hastin."†

* Rash as his conduct was, Captain Mayaffre was not acting contrary to orders in assuming the offensive. The Governor-General, writing on the afternoon of the 20th in ignorance of the real state of affairs to Captain Blair, hearing he had been engaged, directed him to remain on the defensive till joined by Captain Mayaffre.—Hastings' Narrative, Appendix No. 30, part ii.

† "With howdahs on the horses, saddles on the elephants,
Quickly away did Warren Hastings fly."

The same verses were afterwards, by the substitution of "Colonel Mansin" for Warren Hastin, applied to the retreat in 1804 connected with the name of Monson. Probably the composition of some singing girl, and sung at many a "nách," where the company were more gratified by hearing of the disasters than the successes of the British arms.

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1781 August — The Governor-General had with him at the time, as a body-guard, two companies of Major Popham's regiment, with two guns, under Lieutenant-Fireworker John E. Grand. Cadet Robert Sands also was with the Governor-General, probably in command of another brigade of two guns.

September — Active measures were taken to collect troops; and on the 3rd of September Captain T. Blair, with his battalion and two companies of Major Popham's grenadiers, was sent out to surprise the camp of the enemy at Patita, about seven miles from Chunár. Inferior bullocks and stupid drivers with the two guns retarded the march, but at daylight they found the enemy, 4000 infantry and 400 cavalry, with six guns, drawn up and waiting for them. After a smart action, in which we had 48 killed and 85 wounded, principally from the fire of their guns, they fled, leaving four of them on the field, one of which had been lost at Rámnagar. From the stores captured it was evident that they had the usual materials of artillery service—portfires, tubes, chain and quilted grape—equal, or nearly so, to those produced by our laboratories; but the ordnance was very inferior. In his report, Captain Blair particularly acknowledges "the activity and conduct" of Lieutenant-Fireworker E. J. Baillie during the action. On the 10th of September a brigade from Cawnpore arrived, under Major J. W. Crabb; with it was the 1st Company, 2nd Battalion (thirty men), with four 6-pounders and one howitzer, under Captain Justly Hill.*

Reduced in 1825

The enemy had collected in force again at Patita, and also at Latifpur, a fort fourteen miles from Chunár. One Bandu Khán, of Chunár, who had been with Captain Blair in the previous engagements and had made

* This officer had been transferred from the Royal Artillery; his name is No. 441 upon Kane's list.

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himself useful, gave Major Popham much information regarding the disposition of the enemy, and also regarding the roads and passes through the hills. As the latter appeared practicable, it was determined to attack them at Patita and Latifpur by a combined movement of two columns—Major Popham moving direct upon the former place; Major Crabb's detachment marching across the hills, and taking the latter in reverse. Captain Hill commanded the artillery with Major Popham; Lieutenant Baillie that with Major Crabb. 1781 September

Major Crabb's detachment consisted of the 1—6th N.I. (Captain Blair's), the 7th N.I. (Major Crabb's), and the body-guard of the Vazir of Oudh, under Lieutenant T. Polhill; six guns and one howitzer. It left Chunár on the evening of September 15th, and had a very hard and laborious march. The ammunition boxes had to be removed from the backs of bullocks and carried across most of the streams on men's heads. Swamps lay beyond the hills, and even where easiest, the road, a mere rough pathway, required here and there to be made passable for guns. On the evening of the 16th the detachment reached the Balliyah Ghát, below the Saktisgarh hills, only twelve miles from Chunár; on the 17th, Sirsi, beyond Korádi; on the 18th, a large marsh nearly ten miles further on; on the 19th, past Maddupur, a large deserted village, to Bát. From this place, the fort of Bijigarh could be seen on the top of a high hill some distance off. Scouts reported that the enemy, with three guns, were posted at the village of Lora.

On the next day the detachment marched in the following order:—Two guns in front of the body-guard, one in front of the 7th N.I., one gun and the howitzer in the centre, and one gun in rear of it; the remaining gun in rear of Captain Blair's battalion. By sunrise the

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1781 September advance got clear of the jungle, and found the enemy drawn up upon an open space of ground, their guns massed upon the right, and commanding the road out of the bush. A tope of trees and the village of Lora were on their right, and a morass in front. Major Crabb deployed into line as he emerged from the jungle, his guns replying to the enemy's fire, and then advanced, the gunners keeping it up as the natives dragged them forward, till within musket range, when Lieutenant Polhill was ordered to charge and carry their artillery. The enemy fled, leaving 150 dead and 20 wounded, and made for Latifpur, pursued as far as the Pass of Sakrut. The Rájá, Chet Singh, on hearing of this reverse, fled across the hills to Bijigarh; and next day, when Major Crabb arrived at Latifpur, he found the fort evacuated and plundered, after his departure, by the Rájá's own followers. Lieutenant-Fireworker Baillie was again brought to the notice of the Governor-General, who mentions him in G. O. of September 8th and October 19th; in the latter as follows:—

"The strong recommendations which Major Crabb has given Lieut.-Fireworker Baillie for his distinguished attention and activity in the management of the artillery under his charge, affords the Governor-General the pleasure of a second occasion of acknowledging the services of that officer in the same campaign, and publishing his thanks for them."

The loss of the artillery in this affair was only one lascar killed, and another wounded.

Major Popham marched against Patita, on the 16th September, with the following force:—Two companies of European infantry, under Captains Grant and J. Harrison. Three battalions and one grenadier company of native infantry. A body of native cavalry, under a native leader, Almás. 1st Company, 2nd Battalion of Artillery, under Captain Justly Hill.

Reduced in 1325.

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Patita is described as "a very large town, surrounded by a rampart of earth, extending a great distance beyond it to the hills adjoining. The fort itself is a small square house of stone, fortified with four round towers, and enclosed with a high rampart and a ditch, which is in most places broad and deep." * 1781 September

Major Popham arrived the same day before the place, but, from the information received from his hirkáras,† did not like to risk an assault till two 18-pounders and a mortar, which were in rear, should arrive. A spot about a thousand yards distant from the town was first selected for a battery; but this was given up for another near a tank, for the sake of the shelter its banks afforded the troops, and here the guns were placed in position. Unfortunately the jungle was dense, and it was impossible to judge of the fire from the battery; so, after some unsatisfactory bombarding, the town was attacked and taken by storm on the 20th. Rámnagar submitted quietly two days after.

Major Popham lost no time in following Chet Singh up to Bijigarh. This fort stands upon a rocky hill belonging to the Kaimur range, which runs along the north bank of the river Son. It rises 745 feet above the plain, and was looked on as impregnable. Chet Singh, however, did not think so, as he fled upon Major Popham's approach. It was not attacked at once, as reinforcements and supplies of stores were expected. Several artillery officers also had joined. Lieutenant George Ball,‡ of the 1—6th N.I., was brigade-major

* Mr. Hastings' account.

† "Messengers." They used to form an important part of a quarter-master general's establishment, and general officers invariably drew large sums for their entertainment in the earlier wars.

‡ Esteemed a very good officer. He succeeded Lieutenant-Colonel Worsley in 1810, as adjutant-general of the army, but died the following year.

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1781 November

now to the force. It commenced operations early in November. On the 4th a battery of two 18-pounders opened; but one of these burst soon after, and it was necessary to send to Chunár for others. In the interval a mine was prepared, but on the 10th the fort capitulated. A large quantity of treasure was found, which the captors divided on the drum-head; a proceeding highly disapproved of by Hastings, who was at the time in great want of money, and had expected much relief from the Rájá's gold and silver, when it came into his hands. The shares were: Major Popham, Rs. 294,000; majors, Rs. 44,956; captains, Rs. 22,478; lieutenants, Rs. 11,239; serjeants, Rs. 200; subahdárs, Rs. 300; jemadárs, Rs. 140; havildárs, Rs. 100; naicks, Rs. 80; sepoys, Rs. 50.

The names of the artillery officers who served during these operations are as follows:—

Captain	James Mayaffre.
,, ...	Justly Hill.*
Lieutenant	James Gillespie.*
,, ...	Robert Bruce.*
Lieut.-Fireworker	E. J. Baillie.
,, ...	Henry Balfour.†
,, ...	William Shipton.*
,, ...	John Edmund Grand.
,, ...	Robert Sands.

* Shared in the Bijigarh prize.

† Had been sent for heavy guns and did not return in time to share, and his claim was disallowed.

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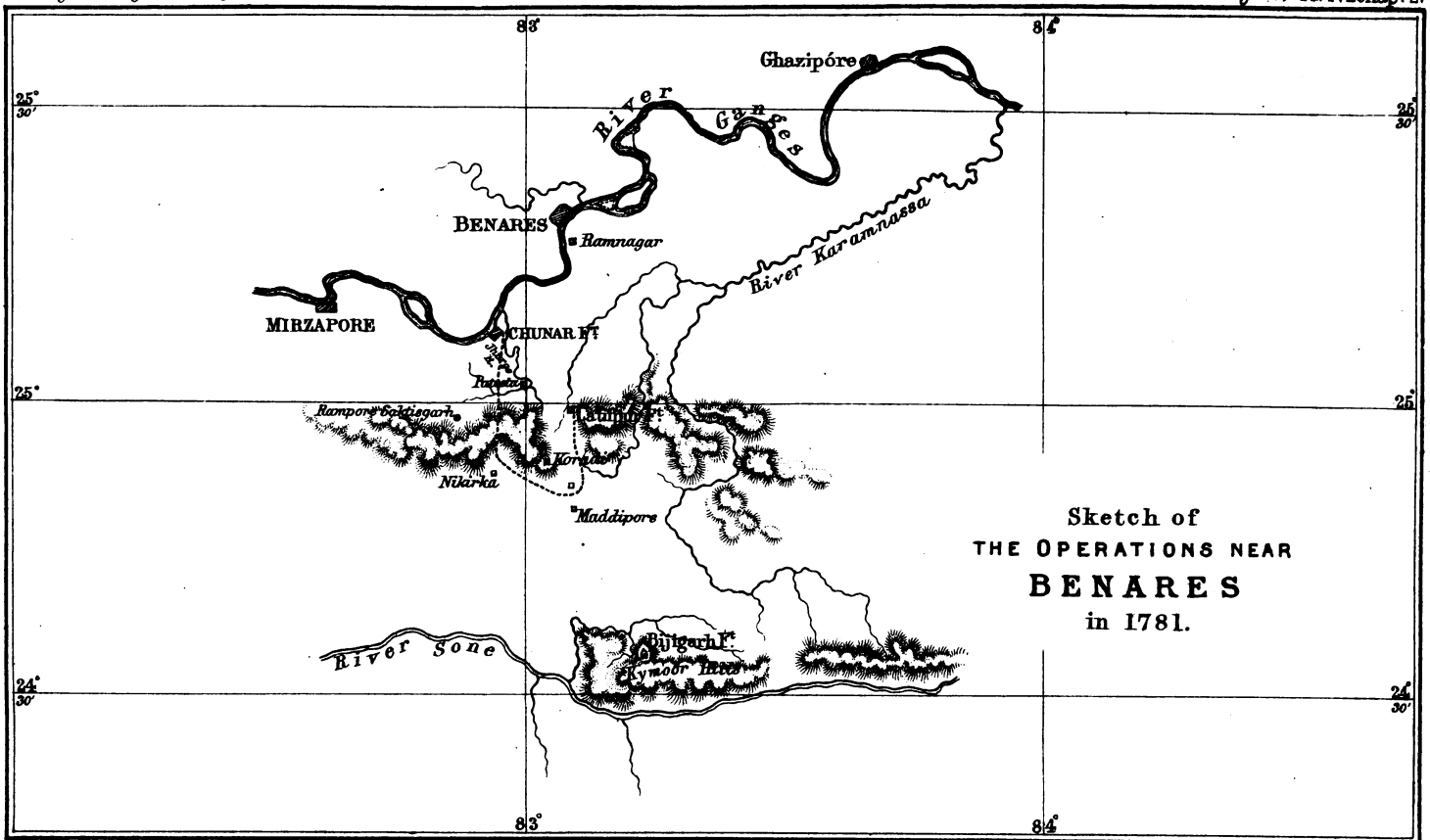

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APPENDIX.

NOTE A.—Sharers of prize-money for the first Rohilla campaign, in 1774.

NOTE B.—Notice of Colonel Goddard.

NOTE A.

Shares of prize-money awarded to the English force employed against the Rohillas, in 1774.

	Sonat Rupees.		Sonat Rupees.
Colonel	19,000	Private	30
Lieut.-Colonel ...	16,000	Commandant (Native) ...	300
Major	13,700	Subahdárs	131
Captain	6850	Jemadárs and Serangs ...	65
Subaltern	3425	Hávildars and Tindals ...	40
Cadet	1000	Naicks	30
Conductor	300	Privates, Lascars, and black Doctors	20
Sergeant-Major ...	90	Bheestees, &c.	10
Sergeant	60		
Corporal	45		

NOTE B.

Colonel Thomas Goddard originally belonged to the 84th Regiment, and when it returned home in 1763, was transferred to the Indian service, with four other lieutenants and six

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ensigns. He raised the 1—7th Regiment N.I., known in the later years of the Company's reign in the *Army List* as the 13th N.I., but to all the native soldiers of Bengal as "Gárad ká paltan"—Goddard's Regiment. The greatest part of this corps remained faithful to the British Government in 1857, and about two hundred took their share in the defence of the Residency at Lucknow, the most glorious page in all the history of the English in India.

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CHAPTER III.

FIRST MYSORE WAR, 1781-85—Sir Eyre Coote sent to command in Madras—Artillery sent—Defects of the administrative services—Provisions—Cattle—Army leaves Madras—Kárangoli taken—It reaches Pondicherry—Cuddalore—Distress for want of supplies—Attack on CHILLAMBRAM fails—Battle of PORTO NOVO—Sir Eyre Coote returns to join detachment from Bengal—Colonel Pearse's detachment—Its difficulties—Joins the main army—Is broken up—Sir Eyre Coote's conduct towards Colonel Pearse—Tripasore taken—Hydar's challenge—Battle of POLILORE—Move towards Vellore—Battle of SHOLINGAR—Its good effects—Sir Eyre Coote's activity—Colonel Owen detached, surprised, and loses many men—Vellore relieved—Chitur taken—Return to Madras—Defective intelligence—Second move on Vellore—Sir Eyre Coote seized with apoplexy—Recovers—Hydar attacks—Repulsed by Colonel Pearse's brigade—Colonel Brathwaite's disaster—French land—Army takes the field again—Falls back on Madras—Sir Eyre Coote goes to Bengal—Returns—His death and character—Hydar Ali's death—Army marches against Cuddalore under Major-General Stuart—Its slow movements—Siege of CUDDALORE—Attack on the French lines—Sortie—Peace of Versailles—Bengal troops return to their own Presidency—General orders on the occasion—Honours conferred.

FIRST MYSORE WAR.

THE soldier of fortune who held the throne of Mysore in 1789 was more than a match for the Government of Madras. Without help from Bengal the contest could not have been maintained. After the disaster which, on the 10th of September, befell Colonel Baillie's detachment, and the retreat of Major-General Sir Hector Munro to Madras, had laid open the country to the devastating 1780

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1780 army of Hydar Ali, the resolution of the Governor-General was taken; and, in spite of the factious opposition of Mr. Philip Francis, he despatched, on the 13th of October, the commander-in-chief, Sir Eyre Coote, with a detachment of 330 men of the European regiment
A-16 R. A. of infantry,* some volunteers,† the 5th Company
A-19 „ 1st Battalion, and the 4th Company, 2nd Battalion, of Artillery, and 630 lascars. The high character Sir Eyre bore as a soldier pointed him out as the fittest choice; but he was now long past the fighting age, and the country he was about to command in was not the Coromandel of former days, where he had won so much renown. The difficulties he was about to encounter were too much for the energies of younger men.

The commissariat arrangements of an Indian army were very defective: in Madras there were none. No regular sources of supply existed for the food of the army, or for the carriage of stores. Rice in the husk, known by the name of "paddy," was served out—generally two or more days' supply at a time—to the troops, who had to carry it along with them, as well as the instruments necessary for beating out the grain. This, almost the staple food for the army, was usually procured from the country around. So also for beef for the European soldiers. Foraging parties sometimes of four or five battalions were sent out, perhaps twenty or thirty miles, to sweep the fields and jungles of their herds, and fought their way back. For months together Coote never got fresh beef in any other way.[1] Much less difficulty had been experienced by commanders in former wars in pro-

* Now the 101st Regiment Royal Bengal Fusiliers.

† A number of young Irishmen who had come out to India to find employment.

[1] Sir Thomas Munro to Lord Amherst, dated August 23rd, 1824.—Gleig's "Life of Sir T. Munro," vol. ii. p. 251.

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viding the necessary supplies; but the English forces, with 1780
their hordes of camp followers and trains of artillery, were larger now than in the days of Lawrence and Clive. The people of the country had improved by practice in the art of war; and the Sultán of Mysore, a more active and unscrupulous enemy than we had before to deal with, knew well how to cripple the movements of an English general by laying waste the field of his operations. The inhabitants of Madras could at times count from their walls the fires which told where the forayers of Hydar had been.

The supply of draught bullocks, too, was always a matter of the most serious difficulty, and the animals, when caught, were of a very inferior description. The weight they carried averaged little more than two maunds, or 160 pounds; ten were required to draw a tumbril, for which six of those bred in the north-west provinces of Bengal were sufficient.[1] The Mysore cattle, a small but remarkably active and hardy breed, were not procurable. Everything was done through contractors;* and the villagers, scenting their approach from afar, vanished into the jungles and hills with their herds rightly judging that to serve in a campaign would not be a profitable speculation under any circumstances.[2]

All these were questions to which the Madras Government might have addressed itself. But for a long while the chariot wheels of the Council followed

* It was not until after the final subjugation of Mysore in 1799, when the establishment of draught bullocks belonging to Tippoo, of the excellent breed indigenous to that country, was taken over to be maintained as a breeding stud for the public service, that any attempt was made in Madras to keep up a permanent supply for government purposes

[1] Mackenzie's "Sketches of the War with Tippoo," vol. ii. Appendix p. 94.

[2] Carnatic bullock contractor to J. Holland, Esq., 21st January, 1790. —Mackenzie's "Sketches of the War with Tippoo," vol. i. p. 55.

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1780 an erratic course. Sounds of discord oftener than of harmony proceeded from its chambers, for the element of self-interest was allowed to run wild. It prevailed among the civil servants of the Company to an almost incredible extent, and was a main cause of the country's resources being so crippled. Therefore the English armies took the field under lamentable disadvantages, which there was no one to remove.

While Mr. Hastings was preparing a detachment of native infantry to march by land, Sir Eyre Coote left Calcutta, reached Madras in the beginning of November, and immediately set to work to mobilize his army. But though every effort was made, the country had been so

1781 January devastated, that he marched from St. Thomas' Mount on the 16th of January in a very inefficient state. His force numbered 1403 European and 5000 native infantry, 800 native cavalry, and a train of 60 pieces of artillery.

Plate IX. Chap. VI. Arcot had surrendered to the enemy in November, and the Sultán was now besieging Vellore, which under Colonel Lang, of the Madras service, held out well; while the Mir Sáhib, one of his generals, invested Wandiwash, gallantly defended by Lieutenant Flint, and other detachments were before Ambore, Chingleput, and Permacoil. Near Chingleput, on the 18th, Coote halted; and the fort of Kárangoli was taken, on the morning of the 20th, by a detachment of native infantry, with some artillery,* under Captain Davis. This place was surrounded by a wet ditch, with one entrance over a causeway. Another gate was blown open by two guns. From this a winding passage led to a second, which was also

* Madras Artillery, commanded by Captain Moorhouse. Two gates were forced, the artillerymen doing the duty most gallantly, and having ten out of twelve men either killed or wounded.—"Life of Sir T. Munro," and "Munro's Narrative."

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reached in the same way; the artillerymen coolly working their guns in a confined space, under a heavy musketry fire from all sides. Four officers were wounded; 10 out of 12 artillerymen, and 80 sepoys, were killed or wounded. On the 24th the army reached Wandiwash, from which the enemy had retired the day before. News was here received that Hydar had raised the siege of Vellore; and Coote was on his way towards Permacoil, when he heard of the French fleet being off Madras; wherefore he moved back on Kárangoli. The fleet, however, went south, and Sir Eyre marched for Pondicherry, encamping on the Red Hills there in February. On the 7th Hydar Ali appeared in sight, marching upon Cuddalore. The English drums beat to arms, and Sir Eyre moved off in the same direction, the two columns being about a mile apart. A heavy but ineffectual cannonade was kept up during the night by the enemy. Coote got to Cuddalore next morning, and on the 9th endeavoured to induce a battle; but Hydar would not consent. His position now was full of danger; the French ships by sea, and the enemy by land, cut off his supplies. On the 10th he wrote to Madras in these terms: "I cannot command rice enough to move either to the southward or to the northward. . . . . I have written to Nagore in the most pressing terms for supplies. I depend upon every effort in your power—everything must be risked to assist me—my difficulties are great indeed." Fortunately, the French ships, not being able to come to terms with Hydar, left the coast. The Sultán himself proceeded to overrun the district of Tanjore, while his son Tippoo sat down again before Wandiwash. Sir Eyre remained at Cuddalore for five months, unable to leave the coast, his only base of operations.

1781 January

February

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1781 Nearly thirty miles south-south-west from Cuddalore was the fortified pagoda of Chillambram, which was said to be stored with provisions. To secure these, and probably also to divert Hydar's attention from the reinforcement expected from Bengal, Sir Eyre Coote moved to Porto June Novo in June; and on the evening of June 18th, sent four* battalions of sepoys, with two 12-pounders, four 6-pounder guns, and two howitzers—Captain J. Moorhouse (Madras) commanding the artillery details. The enemy were driven out of the pettah (town) into the pagoda, of which the outer gate was forced open by two rounds from a 12-pounder. The sponge-staff of this gun was accidentally blown away, and the man who carried the linstock and match was left wounded or dead before they got to the second gate; but there was no time to be lost, and Captain Moorhouse, as soon as it was close up to it and loaded, took a musket from a man, and by its aid fired two rounds. A passage was thus effected, and the garrison were already beginning to call out for quarter. But there was a third gate, and in the narrow space between it and the second, some straw, moistened with oil and set on fire, was thrown down. The sepoys, crowded together, began to lose their presence of mind; some called out that their ammunition was expended. So the garrison took heart, and the assault failed almost in the moment of success. The general, who was in the pettah, ordered up some ordnance to breach the place; but they were too light. The loss on this occasion amounted to six officers and nearly 150 men killed or wounded.† It was characteristic of the general, but

* Three by Munro's account; Wilks says four.

† Lieutenant Tredway Clarke, of the Madras Artillery, received a severe wound about this time, which obliged him to leave the army. But it may have been on some other occasion than this.

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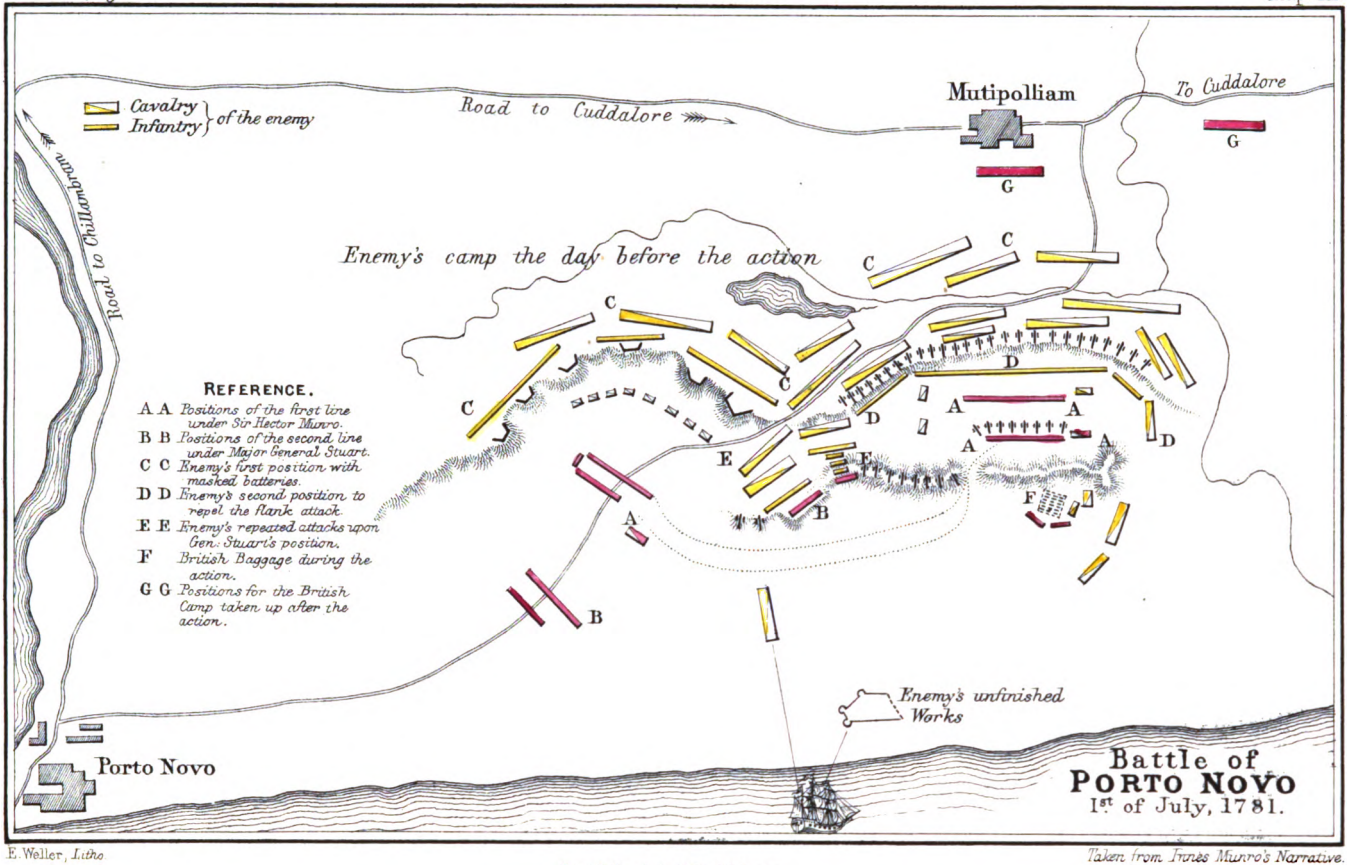

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Taken from Innes Munro's Narrative.

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more of the peculiarity of his temper under difficulties than of his well-known contempt for danger, that he retired to a house within range and exposed to the enemy's fire, and lay down in a verandah before a light inside, and would neither speak nor suffer the candle to be put out for some time. 1781 June

The battering train was therefore brought down by Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, who had arrived from the Malabar coast on the 24th; but Hydar Ali, hearing of the repulse, and hoping for still more signal successes made a march of seventy miles in two days and encamped at Mutipolliam, about four miles from Porto Novo. So the heavy guns were sent back; and Sir Eyre, having served out four days' rice to each man, broke up his camp, and moved out early on the morning of the 1st of July. July

Parallel to the coast line, and about three-quarters of a mile from it, ran a range of sand-hills; west of which was a plain, through which went the road to Cuddalore, direction north-north-west. The enemy's cavalry appeared in numbers on this plain; behind their right and centre was the end of a large lagoon, on the other side of which a select body of horse with light artillery was posted, prepared to act on the rear of the English army when it should be engaged in front. Sir Eyre Coote disposed his force in two lines. The first, under Sir Hector Munro, consisted of six battalions of native infantry, with the Europeans in the centre and cavalry on the right; the second, under Major General James Stuart, of four battalions of sepoys, with cavalry on its left. The baggage was kept close to the shore with a native infantry regiment and some cavalry. As they advanced up the plain and Cuddalore road, the right covered by the sand-hills, the enemy's cavalry retired

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1781 July from before them; and after moving about a mile and a half, their army was found strongly posted across the point, with batteries in position commanding the whole of the ground between. The commander-in-chief carefully reconnoitred, and deemed them too strong for a direct attack. So also thought his generals. While they deliberated, an officer, who had gone on in front, found that a road had been cut through the sand-hills towards the Mysorean left, by which Hydar meant to turn the English right. The plan was well intended, but neither this road nor a commanding height near it was secured. The discovery was promptly turned to account. While the left battalions of each line changed front to that flank, and deployed to cover the movement, the rest took ground to their right, and passing across the hills, moved along under their shelter for a mile, till this point was gained. The first line passed through the opening back into the plain, dragging on the guns by manual labour, sepoys cheerfully performing the work which the wretched bullocks were unequal to. In about an hour the first line had cleared the hills, and deployed under a fire of forty pieces of the enemy's artillery. The enemy had thus lost the principal advantage of a well-chosen position, but they had had time to withdraw their guns from the batteries where they had been placed, and await the new attack. It was necessary, however, to take possession of the range of sand-hills they had just passed, and secure the first line from being taken in rear. This was entrusted to Major-General Stuart with the second. Meanwhile, Sir Hector Munro's division was quietly standing under a fire which became hotter as the enemy became more confident. Not a shot was returned, and the guns were still limbered up, in the order of march. The Mysorean guns

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came nearer, and their shot told more surely. Sir Eyre Coote, riding along the front of the line, encouraged the men to be patient. At last, an aide-de-camp rode up and reported the position secure, when Coote gave the welcome order to advance. A long thick caldera* hedge protected the right, and a battalion in column, with some guns, the left. Slowly, taking every advantage the ground afforded, they moved on. "The artillery," says Munro, "who had been so long restrained, exerted themselves. Their fire was so heavy, that nothing could stand before it." The Mysore cavalry assailed the left, but failed to make any impression, or stop the advance. And here was seen the value of the position taken up by General Stuart in covering the rear of the line. The enemy perceiving this assailed it fiercely, but ineffectually, with infantry supported by guns, and with cavalry. The former were driven from every ground they endeavoured to occupy. Mir Sáhib, leading the latter, was mortally wounded; and his men, getting round to the rear, fell under the fire of a small schooner of the squadron, which was able to stand close into shore and join in the contest. At last the Mysore army, repelled at every point, gave way and fled; and had the English been better supplied with cavalry, the losses of the enemy would have been still more serious. On our side, they only amounted to 306 altogether. 1781 July

This action has been described in more than usual detail, for it was one upon which the whole fortune of the Madras Presidency turned. Its loss would have involved that of every post held on the Coromandel coast—Fort St. George itself, in all probability, included; for Warren Hastings, who had sent Goddard with a detachment to the assistance of Bombay, could not well

* *Pandanus odoratissima.*

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1781 July afford to send any more from Bengal than had been despatched already. Sir Eyre Coote had barely held his own hitherto, and every native power across the peninsula would have been allied against the English. Besides, not only was the disparity in numbers engaged very great,* but the tactics of the enemy, aided by French science, were unusually good. Sir Eyre Coote's promptitude of action, seconded by his army under most adverse circumstances, makes this battle a more remarkable one than it appears to have got credit for being. Had the attack been delayed even for one day the enemy would, it was found, have so strengthened their left flank that it could not have been turned.

The result of this victory was to enable Sir Eyre to move northwards, with the view of effecting a junction with the detachment of native infantry under command of Colonel T. D. Pearse, the commandant of the Bengal Artillery, which was on its way to Madras. Tippoo Sáhib, who had been again besieging Wandiwash—gallantly defended, as before, by Lieutenant Flint—broke up his camp and marched northward to intercept it.

This detachment consisted of the following troops:—

4-23 R. A. 5th Company, 2nd Battalion Artillery; 2nd Company of Golandáz; five battalions of native infantry—the 12th, 13th, 24th, 25th, and 26th. Another regiment, the 20th, had been ordered, but was disbanded for mutiny, caused chiefly by the misconduct of Captain Grant, its command-

* The English army numbered—Cavalry, 830; Artillery, 598; Infantry, 7048—total, 8476; while that of the enemy has been estimated, with apparent fairness, at 80,000. Our guns were 55, against 47 of heavier metal.—Wilks, ii. 316.

Munro states the English force to have been 7500 men. He also says that a Portuguese captain, who deserted from the enemy, reported them 300,000 or 400,000. But Hydar Ali could not have fed so large a force in the state of the country then.

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ing officer, who was cashiered. Ensign John Kennaway * was Persian secretary; Captains Aug. K. Dickson,† N.I., and Christopher Green, of the artillery, were aides-de-camp to Colonel Pearse. 1781 July

The detachment left Midnapore on the 21st of January. At Ganjam they were attacked by cholera, and suffered fearfully. Desertion among the sepoys, too, was rife, and Colonel Pearse was obliged to execute one offender at the muzzle of a gun. But his greatest difficulty arose from insubordination among the junior officers of native infantry, especially the captains, who endeavoured by every means to resist Colonel Pearse's determination to make and keep them amenable to the authority of the majors commanding their regiments, and to put a stop to the practice, which then obtained frequently, of rendering false musters.

In the Masulipatam district, he obtained a reinforcement of two battalions of Madras N.I., some cavalry, a few European infantry whom he converted temporarily into gunners, and a party of Madras artillery under Lieutenant Robert Speediman, of that regiment. On the 3rd of August he joined the main army near Pulicat, and marched with it to St. Thomas' Mount.‡

Here the detachment was broken up and distributed among the other brigades, a step both unlooked for and unfair, as it deprived Colonel Pearse of his command—injudicious, as it placed the Bengal regiments in the midst of men alien to their habits, manners, and speech.

* Afterwards Sir John Kennaway, Bart. Retired on half-pay, January 14th, 1801.

† Spelt Dixen in Dodwell and Miles' Army List.

‡ In spite of the causes of delay, Colonel Pearse had not lost much time, having marched from Midnapore to Nellore—645 miles in 64 days. He was detained at Nellore for want of orders. Colonel Pearse took astronomical observations as regularly as could be done along the route, to fix the latitude and longitude of the various places.

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1781 July Sir Eyre Coote, in a letter to the supreme government in March, had given his views on the subject. This document, it must be confessed, exhibited not only disingenuousness, but a degree of insubordination towards constituted authority, very indecorous in the head of the army. He asserted the needlessness and expense of maintaining a separate staff and separate accounts for this brigade, though he contemplated giving it to Captain and Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel Owen, of the Madras establishment, an officer much junior in standing to Pearse;* and declared that that officer being entrusted by the Government of Bengal with permanent authority in any shape was unjust towards himself, and an unwarrantable assumption on the part of the Governor-General in military details; and concluded by expressing the satisfaction he had in "committing to record in this place, that he ascribed these encroachments on the authority of the commander-in-chief to the Governor-General, who now united in his person the whole powers of government." Had Colonel Pearse been an officer of less distinguished reputation and ability, the injustice would have been the same, and the line of conduct equally unmilitary. But to the last Sir Eyre Coote showed the same persistent injustice† in superseding Pearse upon every possible occasion; and yet, throughout all the private correspondence of the latter, though he complains bitterly of the treatment he met with, and states his opinions freely, we do not find a single unsoldier-like expression, or one better left unsaid.

This reinforcement added about 4000 men to the

* His king's commission as lieutenant-colonel gave him precedence over all of the same rank in the Company's service, though of anterior date.

† See the "Correspondence with Colonel Pearse relative to the Disbandment of the Golandáz," chap. i.—Organization and Equipment.

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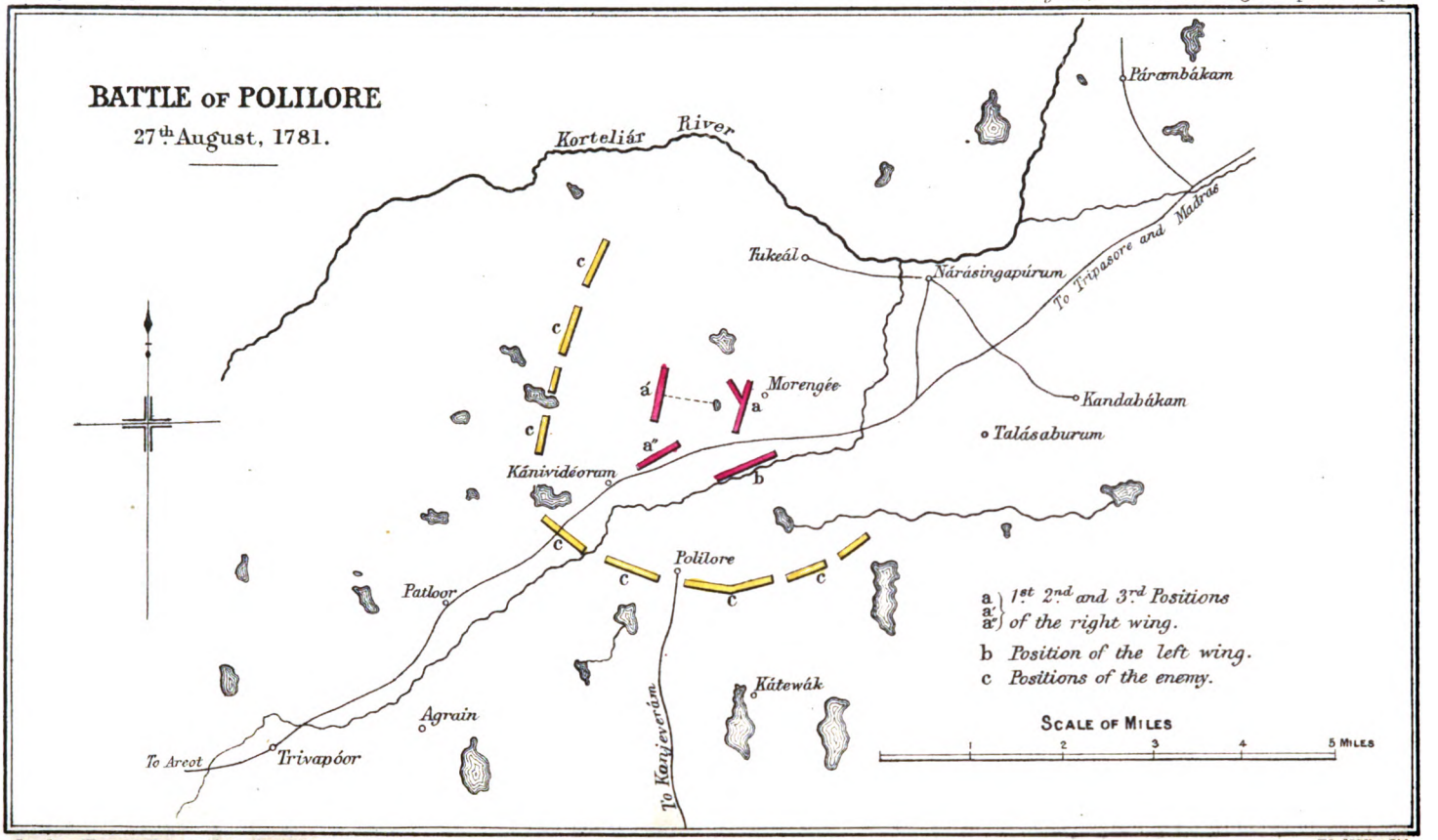

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army. On the 16th August it marched to Punamáli, and thence to Tripasore, which surrendered on the third day. Contrary to expectation, there was but little grain found there. It was hardly taken possession of, when Hydar appeared in sight. Disappointed in not having relieved the place, he retired, and, with a superstitious belief in his good fortune there, sent a challenge to the English general to meet him upon the ground where, just a year * previously, Colonel Baillie's star had sunk before his. Sir Eyre, no way disinclined, marched to Párambákam on the 26th, and next morning sighted the enemy in great force near the village of Polilore. The ground, broken and intersected with watercourses, was difficult—ought to have been impossible to a force so inferior in numbers. 1781 August

The army, prepared to form two lines, was marching along the road to Arcot, an avenue planted with banián trees, when four guns opened upon the advanced guard from a grove upon a slight eminence to the left, distant about 800 yards. Possession was taken of this post, while the first line deployed upon the other or north-west side of the road, with its right thrown forward and facing the south-west where the enemy appeared to be in greatest force. The second line was ordered to support the post at the grove upon the left of the road. The formation took up some time, from the broken and jungly nature of the ground, but it had scarcely been completed, when the right wing was found to be enfiladed by a distant though troublesome cannonade, rendering it necessary for it to change front by throwing back the outer flank. Meanwhile, Colonel Owen, commanding the post on the left, was hard pressed. The enemy, whose right at first 27th August

* Counting by lunar years, the order of time observed by Muhammadans.

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1781 27th August appeared to rest upon the pagoda and village of Polilore, were massing their forces on that flank. Two battalions, followed by two more, from Colonel Pearse's brigade in the left of the right wing, were detached to his support. This, and the advance of the right in line to its new front, made a gap in the centre, of which the enemy might have taken fatal advantage. But the action was fought principally by the artillery on both sides; the Mysorean troops lying concealed in the ditches and dry watercourses, which covered both them and their guns. While Sir Hector Munro, on the right, sat sulkily under a solitary tree, declining to give any orders on account of an affront* he had received from the irritable old general, Colonel Pearse was endeavouring to keep up the communication between the wings; but for a time it was quite lost. At last, after much time spent in a fruitless movement, the right came back and took up a third position along the road, facing the south, with its right exactly opposite to Polilore, now almost the left of the enemy's line, and about 1300 yards further west from the point at which it had originally deployed. The right of the other line rested upon the post at the grove, about 1400 yards diagonally in front of the inner flank of the first, so that the two were in echelon.

Eight hours had now been spent since the beginning of the action before the decisive movement was made by the right brigade advancing to carry Polilore, which was done under a general fire from the whole line while it advanced in support, passing over the unburied remains of Colonel Baillie's detachment near that village. The enemy's right being forced gave way.

* Sir Eyre Coote told him he was giving advice when he ought to be doing his duty.

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The advance of the other wing was also successful; and the setting sun saw the Mysore forces retreating upon Kánjevaram. 1781 27th August

This unsatisfactory action cost the English 421 in killed and wounded—too heavy by far for what the enemy claimed as a drawn battle. On the 29th, after having interred the bodies of those who fell here on both occasions, they returned to Tripasore, thence to Madras, where Sir Eyre Coote wished to resign a command which could not win him any glory, and for which his feeble health unfitted him; but Lord Macartney, the governor, persuaded him to retain it. He did; and died in the harness he had worn so long and bravely. September

In the end of September the army moved towards Vellore, which Colonel Lang reported untenable without a supply of food. Hydar, watchful and well-informed, took post near Sholingar. Coote, having taken the small fort of Polúr, reached Parengi on the 26th, and next day went out to reconnoitre. A long ridge of rocks was observed to be occupied, and a brigade ordered up from camp dislodged the enemy. From this position, their main force was seen at the village of Kapúr, about two miles off. Heavy rain had fallen the night before; wherefore Hydar, believing that, with their miserable cattle and soaking tents, a move was impossible, had allowed his men to take their cattle out to graze. Sir Eyre, however, ordered the camp to be struck and the rest of the army to come up. Hydar seeing this, hastily called them in, and prepared to meet the advancing lines, in order to cover the retreat of his camp, which he did not intend should be attacked standing. 27th September

About a quarter past 3 p.m. the firing opened on

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1781 27th September

the right of the English line, before which the country was tolerably open. That in front of the left wing was broken by ridges and groups of rocks, through which the battalions had at times to defile in different places. This, and getting clear of a large pond at the village of Surapur, separated the wings; and the enemy's horse charged the left of the right, but were received so steadily by the 13th Bengal and the 17th Madras N.I., who repulsed them at the point of the bayonet without firing a shot,[1] that they fell back, suffering heavily from the discharges of grape, and the fire of the 2nd Madras N.I. The cannonade was general along the whole of the enemy's line, but not very effectual; and Sir Eyre Coote moved on steadily, bearing heavily on their left, though the frequent charges of the Mysore cavalry were so far successful that they delayed his advance and enabled Hydar to draw off his guns. The left wing, broken up by the nature of the ground, was assailed also; but the regiments were always ready, and when the horsemen passed through the intervals, the rear ranks, facing about, inflicted heavy loss. On one of these occasions Colonel Pearse was carried away along with them for for some distance. His horse, an impetuous Arab, by his violent kicking, kept most of them at a distance; and Captain Humphries, his aide-de-camp, shot a man who was preparing to cut him down. Colonel Pearse describes the *sawárs* as being so drunk that they did not know what they were about. The behaviour of the troops was everywhere excellent; and when the firing ceased in the darkness, Hydar had retreated out of sight, leaving about 1000 dead on the field,* and

* Wilks estimates above 5000 as the loss. Colonel Pearse mentions a report of 1500 doolies with wounded being carried away.

[1] Colonel Pearse to Warren Hastings, Esq., dated 10th October, 1781.

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the first gun he had ever lost to an English enemy. Our casualties were under 100. 1781 27th September

This victory, acknowledged by the Mysoreans to have been a surprise and a severe defeat, had important results. Previous successes had made the English name respected. This induced the poligárs of Kalástri and Ventkátageri to withdraw, as much as they dared to do, from the Sultán; and supplies were for a short time more plentiful. Sir Eyre Coote marched northward into the hill district as far as Atamcheri, to collect what he could. When Lálla, one of Hydar's chiefs, was sent by another pass into the same country to punish their defection, and committed serious depredations, Coote, at the head of a small, lightly equipped force, of which two regiments of Bengal N.I. formed part, followed him up; and in a period of thirty-six hours, during thirty-two of which the old general was on horseback,[1] surprised and dispersed the party. October Another detachment of five battalions, two companies of an European regiment, and some cavalry, under Colonel Owen, was sent to intercept a convoy of the enemy. This officer, brave but unskilful, was himself surprised, and lost 317 men. A 6-pounder gun was captured; but Captain James Moore,* Bengal N.I., whom an artilleryman informed of the loss, accompanied by Captain Moorhouse, of the Madras Artillery, "an officer equal to any danger,"[2] with forty European grenadiers and a body of sepoys, forced his way through the enemy and brought it off in triumph.

Vellore was now supplied with provisions for three months, and Colonel Lang, with part of the garrison, withdrawn; Captain Cuppage being left in command.

* Died 26th January, 1785, on the return of the Bengal detachment to its own presidency.

[1] Wilks, ii. 340. [2] Munro, i. 49.

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1781 November — Coote next took, on the 11th of November, the fort of Chitur, after a four days' siege; but Pálur and Pálipet, where he had left small detachments, with some guns, fell into the enemy's hands. The rains now coming on obliged him to withdraw his force for the present to the neighbourhood of Madras.

In these operations, notwithstanding the decided success of some, a great defect of proper intelligence on the part of the English and the accuracy of information possessed by the enemy were noticeable. Sir Hector Munro would not take the ordinary means of paying his spies well and punishing those who betrayed him;[1] Sir Eyre Coote, it is said,[2] did not suspect that his were in the pay of the Sultán. Captain Flint, on the other hand, was always minutely informed of what took place outside Wandiwash, even to a considerable distance, and often communicated valuable intelligence to his chief.*

1782 January

The army had not remained long in quarters before it was again summoned to relieve Vellore, where the want of provisions made surrender a second time imminent. But, on the 5th of January, Sir Eyre Coote was found in his tent in a fit of apoplexy, and speechless. Colonel Lang, who had only just left the army in disgust at being threatened with supersession by a junior, was offered and accepted the command; but on joining from Madras, found the general sufficiently recovered to retain it. The force marched from Tripasore; and after crossing the river Poiney,† a confluent

* Those who would learn how much courage and self-reliance may effect with small means, should read the account of this officer's capture and subsequent defence of Wandiwash in Wilks' Sketches, vol. ii. pp. 262-265, 290-294.

† This is the name it now bears in the Indian atlas.

[1] Munro, i. 26. [2] Wilks, ii. 346.

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of the Pálár, fell in with Hydar, who, on the 10th, attacked the rear brigade, commanded by Colonel Pearse. The route lay through fields which had been inundated by the enemy the day before, and to cover the passage of coolies, animals, and carts laden with rice, the colonel formed line with three battalions, facing the enemy; while the rear-guard—a regiment of infantry and two of cavalry—moving round the swamp on the side next the hills, prevented a flank attack on that side. These dispositions were supported by Sir Eyre from the front. A heavy cannonade was kept up by the enemy; but the nature of the ground rendered it nearly ineffectual. These dispositions succeeded so well that, when Vellore was reached next day, only two coolie loads of rice had been lost out of the whole convoy. On the 13th the army was again attacked at the same place on its return, Colonel Pearse's brigade this time leading the column, and bearing the brunt as before. His conduct elicited high approbation in general orders; but this did not prevent the commander-in-chief, about this time, from depriving him of the allowances as a brigadier granted him by the Government of Bengal, or from twice superseding him in favour of Colonel Lang, who, though a very meritorious officer, had not higher claims than Pearse, and had, moreover, as has been mentioned, resigned when ordered on service. Colonel Pearse's health had suffered so much that he was obliged to return, in May, to Bengal by sea. He rejoined the army in December.

1782 January

Meanwhile, as though the fate of Colonel Baillie's detachment were not sufficient warning, and had not been enough of disaster, Colonel John Brathwaite, with about two thousand men in the Tanjore district, had in

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1782 January — February, by his negligence, allowed himself to be surrounded, attacked, and overpowered by Tippoo; adding, after a long and gallant resistance, himself and the remains of his force to the long list of prisoners in Mysore. The French admiral, M. Suffrein, had succeeded in landing at Porto Novo a body of 3000 men, including a Caffre regiment, despite the efforts of Sir Edward Hughes. Cuddalore surrendered to them early in April.

10th March

May — Sir Eyre Coote had taken the field, and marched to meet the French and Mysorean forces, which had advanced as far as Wandiwash. They, however, though superior in numbers, retired before him, and were followed up as far as Kalianore. Not finding a favourable opportunity of coming to an action, Sir Eyre moved towards Árni, followed by M. Lally and Tippoo. Near this place, the grand guard, consisting of cavalry and infantry, were drawn into ambuscade, and very roughly handled, losing its guns, 166 men, and 54 horses. There was little to be effected, and the climate and fatigue told heavily upon the men, especially the Europeans; wherefore the army returned by Wandiwash to Madras.

8th June

October — In the month of October, worn out by age, ill health, and the anxieties he had undergone, Sir Eyre Coote went to Bengal for rest and change, leaving Major-General J. Stuart, who, having lost a leg at Polilore, had survived the misfortune and was considered fit for service, to command during his absence. He returned in the following April on board the Company's ship *Resolution*, which was unfortunately chased by some French vessels; and the general's anxiety and the exposure on deck brought on a third fit of apoplexy which terminated his life on the 26th of April, 1783, two days after his arrival at Madras.

1783

While there was much to blame in Sir Eyre Coote's

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conduct towards Warren Hastings, the Governor-General of India, and Lord Macartney, the Governor of Madras, and in his treatment of Colonel Pearse, an officer of very distinguished abilities, both professional and scientific, it must, in justice to his memory, be recollected that he was placed, in these latter years of his life, among men of violently conflicting opinions, and in stormy scenes of which, with his temperament, he could not remain an idle spectator. It might have been said of him, as of another military leader and greater man, "Quicquid vult, id valde vult." Growing up in India was a powerful and regular army, whose officers naturally claimed equality of rank and precedence with those of his own service—claims which, the less they could be resisted in theory, were the more opposed in the practice of a system full of anomalies. In the dissensions resulting from this cause Sir Eyre took an active part. But his assertion of freedom from any control except the king's in all matters connected with the royal troops in India, to the extent he endeavoured to carry it, could not be maintained either in theory or in practice. It ended in his successor, General Stuart, being sent home under arrest. We have seen, too, that when the old general was sent to fight on the fields where he had won his early fame, and to rescue the English interest from the most imminent danger, his hands were tied and his means crippled under the paralyzing influence of long-continued misgovernment. Making bricks without straw was not work congenial to his mind, and much of the insubordinate feeling he sometimes showed was, without doubt, the result of such occupation. With all the fighting qualities of Lord Gough, he had the coolness in action which that general lacked, and was revered among the native soldiery, who regarded him with more than ordinary personal affection. 1783

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1783 The man whose portrait at Madras native officers, for years afterwards, used to bring their children to look at, and made them salute while they told of his victories, was of no ordinary stamp.

Another character, more prominent still, had, a short time before, disappeared from the events he had contributed to render so stirring.

"Ján-i-Bálághát baraft." *

Hydar Ali died at Chitur, on the 7th of December, 1782. He, too, was weary of the strife in which his life had worn away. "He had," as he said, "purchased a draught of Siándi † for a lákh of pagodas in waging war with a nation whom he might have made his friends, but whom the defeat of many Baillies and Brathwaites would never destroy."

Tippoo Sultán, on succeeding to his father's throne, proceeded to the Malabar coast, leaving an army to co-operate with the French, who in March were reinforced by a body of men, under M. Bussy from the Isle of France, whom M. Suffrein landed at Cuddalore. This place it was deemed necessary to recover, and Major-General Stuart was directed to put the army in motion thitherward. But, possibly because the governor did not leave the conduct of the war entirely in his hands, his movements were so slow that he took forty days in reaching it, though only one hundred miles distant. The army had received two additions to its strength, one, a body of troops which had come from England under

* "The spirit of Bálághát is gone." The letters of this line in Persian, according to their numerical value, equal 1196, the date of Hydar's death, Hijra era. "Bálághát" signifies the high table-land of the Carnatic, which comprised his dominions.

† Toddy; a cheap liquor, obtained by fermenting the juice of the date palm. A lákh of pagodas, taking the pagoda at eight shillings, would be equal to £40,000.

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command of Major-General Medows in the beginning of this year, and had taken a part in the last operations; the other was the 78th Highlanders, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel James Stuart, and two Hanoverian regiments, commanded by Colonels Reinbelt and Wagenheim, which reached Madras in October, with the fleet under Sir R. Bickerton. The army reached Cuddalore on the 6th of June; and two days afterwards, the fleet arrived with the ammunition and stores, and part of the Germans—the former under charge of Captain Moorhouse, as commissary of ordnance. 1783

The fort of Cuddalore was in shape a trapezium, with bastions added at the corners, and along the straight sides of the quadrangle. Its flanking defence was weak. There was one outwork at the north-east angle, and the north side was further strengthened by a river nearly skirting it after passing the Bandapollam hills, a low range distant from two to four miles. A little estuary ran close along the eastern face, leaving a narrow strip of land between it and the sea. Swampy rice-fields covered the space on the west; but upon the south, higher and firmer ground lay between the estuary and the Bandapollam hills, narrowing as it receded from Cuddalore; and here, two miles from the fort, General Stuart, passing round behind the hills, took up his position on the 7th of June. M. Bussy took up an intermediate one on the same side, covering the fort, and lost no time in strengthening it with field-works. These it was determined to attack upon the 13th. The right of the enemy's position, thrown back *en potence*, was masked by the mud walls of a village. About 600 yards from and commanding this flank was an eminence, part of the range of hills. This was occupied on the 11th by a battery of four 18-pounder guns. The enemy June

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1783 June

set up a counter battery upon another eminence. But between the two was another hill unoccupied. This was seized by a party of sepoys and pioneers, with eight field-pieces, under Major Daniel Mackay, Madras Artillery, who got all his guns mounted before daybreak on the 13th. His fire soon silenced that of the enemy, who were forthwith dislodged by 80 men of the Madras European Regiment, supported by some native infantry under Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Kelly. Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart, of the 78th Regiment, led another party composed of the picquets,* supported by a corps of grenadiers, under Lieutenant-Colonel Cathcart, against the right of the main portion of the works; but the resistance offered, and a flank fire from the masked batteries and troops, obliged him to withdraw under cover. The attack was ordered to be renewed, and Major Mackay's guns were to cover the movement, but he was limited to a fire of only three minutes' duration.[1] Another column, under Lieutenant-Colonel Bruce, consisting of the 101st Regiment and the 25th Bengal N.I., supported by a reserve under Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon,

* Colonel Pearse, in a letter to Major-General James Pattison, R.A., says the picquets were strengthened by most of the corps in camp.

[1] Life of Sir T. Munro, vol. i. p. 64.

Major Begbie, in his "Services of the Madras Artillery" (vol. i. p. 210), gives a slightly different account. He says, "The dispositions for the Artillery were as follows:—The artillery attached to the right wing and the six-gun battery on the right, under Captain Montagu, Bengal Artillery; Lieutenant-Colonel Elliot, Bengal Artillery, to command in the battery of six 18-pounders, which had been thrown up in the night upon a commanding shoulder of the hill on the left, within 800 yards of the French redoubt; Major Mackay, Madras Artillery, to command in a battery of four 12-pounders, planted still further to the left; and lastly, all the field-pieces formerly attached to corps to be under their respective officers. Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly, with the Madras European Regiment, 4th Brigade, and Madras pioneers, without artillery, carried a battery on an eminence, which covered Tippoo's sepoys on the right . . . . on which Elliot's and Mackay's batteries opened most effectively upon a French redoubt in the enemy's centre."

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formed of the Hanoverians, with three companies of the 20th Madras N.I., were ordered to storm a redoubt which formed the salient angle of the enemy's works, formed by the main line, with that part thrown back on the right. The resistance to this second assault was more determined than before; but the behaviour of the stormers was not calculated to ensure success. One company of the 101st actually got within the entrenchments, but not being properly supported by the rest of the regiment, was driven out again, when the whole of it broke and fled, covered by the sepoys, who retired in an orderly manner.* The Hanoverians got as far as the parapet and were also thrown into confusion, and retired. The French, emerging from the redoubt, followed them up; and, while this contest was going on in the plain, Lieutenant Diss, commanding the three companies of Madras sepoys, rallied his men, led them round to the rear of the redoubt, and took possession of and held it. This and thirteen guns was all there was to show, in the way of success, for the very heavy loss of about a thousand men, of whom 618 were Europeans, killed and wounded. Lieutenant-Colonel Pearse, who was along with the Hanoverians, was severely wounded with a

1783 June

* Colonel Pearse, in his usual energetic language, tells us the cause of this behaviour in a British regiment:—

"How could they do better? Jails emptied had furnished the men! The half-pay list gave a major from the cavalry, who had lain by since the last war, and who, when he joined, declared to the lieutenant-colonel that he was totally unable to assist him, being entirely ignorant of infantry discipline; however, he is a major-general. The senior captain was about twenty years old; the second captain only eighteen! The lieutenant-colonel was taken away to command in the line, under his brevet of colonel in India! The major was a major-general, as I before said, and he was left near Madras to command sick quarters! As soon as the men were embodied, they embarked for India, and so made a king's regiment to instruct the Company's officers in their duty!"—Colonel Pearse to Major-General Pattison, dated 27th September, 1783.

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1783 June bullet in the thigh, within a few yards of the redoubt. The French, during the night, withdrew into the fort, carrying all the rest of their ordnance with them.

On the same day, the fleet of M. Suffrein appeared in the offing, followed by Sir E. Hughes. After some manœuvring, the former skilfully managed, on the 17th, to bring his ships close under the fort and receive on board 1200 men, with which addition to his strength he fought the English admiral on the 20th. The result was to the disadvantage of the latter, who, after trying in vain to bring on a renewal of the engagement, stood away for Madras to repair damages, leaving M. Suffrein to restore to Bussy the men he had borrowed, and lend him in turn twice as many more of his own sailors.

With this reinforcement, the French made a sortie on the morning of the 25th, but were repulsed. The 24th Bengal N.I. drove them out of the trenches at the point of the bayonet, for which they were afterwards permitted to wear crossed bayonets, as a badge of honour, on their accoutrements—a distinction they retained as long as they existed as a separate corps. Bernadotte, then a sergeant, afterwards King of Sweden, was wounded and taken prisoner on this occasion.

This success did not, however, improve the position of the English, outnumbered as they were by the besieged, and diminishing daily from sickness and casualties. General Stuart would have been obliged to retire, with the loss of his battering train and stores, had not the news of the peace of Versailles fortunately come to his relief. This terminated the hostilities with
2nd July Tippoo on the eastern coast, and the army returned to Madras.

1784 On the 22nd of April following, the Bengal troops left for their own presidency, Colonel Pearse in command.

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The three companies of artillery embarked at Masulipatam in May, and reached Calcutta in June. The Governor-General in Council thus acknowledged their services :— 1784

"GENERAL ORDERS.

"Fort William, 5th July, 1784.

"The Board, having received ample testimony from the late Sir Eyre Coote, from Colonel Pearse, and from the President and Council of Fort St. George, of the uniform good conduct of Lieut.-Colonel Elliott and the officers and men of the Artillery who have served under his command in the Carnatic, have much pleasure in expressing to this part of the Bengal detachment the high sense they entertain of the gallant behaviour and the important service they have rendered to the Company during the course of the war.

"The Board trust that this special mark of their approbation will be remembered as an animating example to the Bengal troops, whenever the public service may call for similar exertions."

Colonel Pearse, with the infantry, marching by land, reached Ghyretti Ghát in January, where the Governor-General visited their camp in person. Justly appreciating the value which a graceful recognition of their services would possess in the hearts of his soldiers, by his desire the detachment, drawn up in line, received him on parade. The motley and patched uniforms; still more, the dark skins of the men, contrasting strongly with the sleek olive complexions of the home corps—all told of hard service; and as Mr. Hastings, dressed in a plain blue coat, rode along the ranks with his head uncovered and greeted them on their return, all felt that it was no empty compliment. A young subaltern on that parade, who was afterwards selected by Lord Lake for the responsible post of adjutant-general of the Bengal army, and who was noted as a strict disciplinarian and good soldier,* thus in after days wrote of it:—

* Major-General Sir Henry Worsley, K.C.B.

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1784 "The sight of that day, and the feelings it excited, have never been absent from my mind, and to the affecting orders which Mr. Hastings issued I am satisfied I, in a great degree, owe whatever of professional pride and emulation I have since possessed."[1]

And yet there are those who would neglect all such means of keeping up a soldier's love of his profession.

The general order published on this occasion, quoted elsewhere,* acknowledges the services of this force as well as that which had been employed in Bombay under General Goddard. In addition, Mr. Hastings notified by a minute, dated Camp, Ghyretti, 25th January, his personal sense of their conduct. It concluded in the following terms:—

"The Governor-General has deemed it incumbent upon him to visit the detachment in person, to offer his thanks to them before their separation; and desires that the Commanding Officer, Colonel Pearse, whom he is proud to call his friend, will make them known in public orders to the officers, his countrymen, and to the native officers and private sepoys of the detachment.

"The term of his public existence is now within a few days of its close; but it is a consolation to him thus to mix with his regrets for the loss of a service endeared to him by many years of care, attachment, and vicissitudes, a declaration of justice and gratitude, marking its last period.

"WARREN HASTINGS."

A minute by the Governor-General, dated the day following, conferred honorary swords upon Colonel Pearse and his two next senior officers, Lieutenant-Colonels John Edmonstone and Robert Blane, of the N.I., with further distinctions upon other officers.

The names of the artillery officers who served in this war, both Bengal and Madras, are given in the appendix to this chapter, Notes A and B, as far as they can be traced. The returns of the Bengal Artillery were origin-

* Chapter ii., at the close of the operations of the Bombay detachment.

[1] *East Indian United Service Magazine*, vol. i. "Selections," p. 67.

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ally imperfect, as the companies were struck off the strength of the Bengal army during their absence in Madras. 1784

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3. Life of Colonel Thomas D. Pearse. British-Indian Military Repository.

4. East India Military Calendar. 3 vols. 4to. London, 1823-1826.

5. Dodwell and Miles' and other Army Lists.

6. Narrative of the Military Operations on the Coromandel Coast, by Innes Munro, Captain 73rd Highlanders. London, 1789.

APPENDIX.

Note A.—Officers of the Bengal Artillery who served on the coast under command of Lieut.-Colonel T. D. Pearse.

Note B.—Officers of the Madras Artillery who served during the first Mysore war.

NOTE A.

Officers of the Bengal Artillery who served on the coast under command of Lieut.-Colonel T. D. Pearse:—

STAFF.

Lieut.-Colonel T. D. Pearse. Wounded at Cuddalore.
Capt.-Lieutenant Christopher Green, aide-de-camp.
Lieutenant Philip Herbert, quarter-master. Died December 27th, 1782.
„ Edward Brown, adjutant. Wounded.

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4TH COMPANY, 2ND BATTALION.

Captain ... ... William Elliott.
Capt.-Lieutenant ... ... David Woodburn.
Lieutenant ... ... James Wilkinson.
„ ... ... Thomas Holland.
„ ... ... Donald Groat. Returned to Bengal, and died 11th July, 1784.
„ ... ... John Neish.
Lieut.-Fireworker ... ... Robert Turton.
„ ... ... William Dunn.
Cadet ... ... Alexander Macdonald.

5TH COMPANY, 1ST BATTALION.

Captain Vere Warner Hussey. Received a severe wound which rendered him lame for life.
Lieutenant John D. Maud. Died August 7th, 1783.
„ Nicholas Carnegie.
Lieut.-Fireworker James Robertson.
„ Sebastian Nash.
„ Henry Douglas.
„ James R. Exshaw.
„ Thomas Greene.
„ William Flemyng. Joined in March, 1783.

5TH COMPANY, 2ND BATTALION.

Captain Charles Russell Deare.
Capt.-Lieutenant (Captain) Edward Montagu. Joined in 1782.
Lieutenant James Walker. Resigned February 2, 1784.
„ John Barton. Returned to Bengal, December, 1783.
„ John Horsburgh.
„ William Blundell.
Lieut.-Fireworker William Bruce.
„ Thomas Hardwicke.
„ John Tomkyns.
„ M. Macdermot.
„ John Nelly.
„ Ferdinand Macphee. Died 28th August, 1781.

REGULAR POSTINGS NOT KNOWN.

Capt.-Lieutenant William Harris, with a company of volunteers.
Lieut.-Fireworker Hollingbury. Died in 1782.
„ Alex. Syme. Died June, 1784.*
„ Edmund Addison. Joined March, 1783.
„ George Constable. Joined December, 1783.

* Died December 12th, 1780, according to Dodwell.

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Note B.

Officers of the Madras Artillery who served during the first Mysore war :—

Major ...	Daniel Mackay ...	Died in camp, before Cuddalore.
Captain ...	— Jones ...	Taken prisoner, August 10th, 1780. Fate not known.
„ ...	Joseph Moorhouse.	
Captain ...	David Smith ...	Taken prisoner, August 10th, 1780. Released after a lengthened imprisonment in Sávandrug.
„ ...	— Lucas ...	Killed at Vellore, June 13th, 1782.
„ ...	James Speediman*	Taken prisoner, Colonel Brathwaite's detachment, Feb. 1782. Committed suicide at Uskáta, in April, 1784.
„ ...	Richard Rutlidge*	Taken prisoner, Colonel Brathwaite's detachment, Feb. 1782. Fate not known.
„ ...	John Judson ...	Taken prisoner, Colonel Brathwaite's detachment, Feb. 1782. Fate not known.
„ ...	John Slipper.	
Lieutenant	— Cox	Taken prisoner, August 10th, 1780. Died of his wounds.
„	— Winter ...	Killed with Col. Baillie's detachment.
„	Robert Bell.	
„	Tredway Clarke.	
„	Thomas Hayes.	

This list is taken chiefly from Major Begbie's "Services of the Madras Artillery," but it is not a complete one. Captain Munro, in his "Narrative," mentions a Major Rigald (? Rigaud) as one of the artillery officers who rendered good service at the siege of Cuddalore, but this name does not occur any where else.

* These officers were drugged and bound, and in that state were circumcised.

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CHAPTER IV.

SECOND MYSORE WAR—Second Battalion of Artillery ordered on service—Memorial of officers of the 3rd Battalion is severely commented upon by Lord Cornwallis—Detail of companies—Arrival at Madras—Precedence of Artillery with the other arms settled—Major-General Medows takes command—Bengal and Madras Artillery change places in the line—Army leaves Trichinopoly—Action of SÁTIYA MANGALAM—Lieut.-Colonel C. R. Deare killed—Colonel Floyd retires upon main body—Colonel Kelly's division—It comes in contact with the enemy—Joins the army, which returns to Madras—Promotions—Lord Cornwallis joins—Advance towards Mysore—Enemy's flank turned—Siege of BANGALORE—Capture of the town—Of the fort—Leave Bangalore—Return—Further changes in officers—Second advance—Action of ARIKERA—Reduced state of cattle—Retreat on Bangalore—Huliyadrug surrenders.—Army again moves from Bangalore—Osoor occupied—Rahmangurh taken—Siege of NANDIDRUG—Capture—Changes among artillery officers—Siege of SÁVANDRUG—Capture—Reduction of other forts—Two companies of Royal Artillery join the army—Colonel Duff's improvements in the siege train—Bombay force under Lieut.-General Abercromby—March upon SERINGAPATAM—Arrival at French Rocks—Reconnoitre—Attack by night on the Sultan's fortified camp—Failure of the right column—Its cause—A lodgment effected on the island—Gallant defence of Sibbald's redoubt—Occupation of the island—Junction of the force from Bombay—Negotiations—Peace—Army marches back to Madras—Return of companies to Bengal—Honours and rewards.

1790 ON the declaration of war with Tippoo Sultán, in 1790, in consequence of his attack upon the dominions of the Rájá of Travancore, a force consisting of H.M.'s 76th Regiment and six battalions of native infantry was warned for service in the Madras Presidency;[1] and the

[1] G. O. by Earl Cornwallis, Fort William, 1st Feb. 1790. Minutes of Council same date.

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2nd Battalion of Artillery was also, as well as twelve companies of gun lascars, two sirdars, and fifty magazine men, directed to proceed with it.[1] This produced a written remonstrance from Major C. Green, five captains, and twenty subalterns of the 3rd Battalion, who considered themselves unjustly superseded in the regular roster for service. Lord Cornwallis, however, severely remarked in orders[2] upon the impropriety of such a representation, especially with reference to the senior officers, and ruled that for the future, as a standing order, any memorial from a greater number than three officers, setting forth any real or supposed grievance, should only be signed by the senior, who would be held responsible, in the names of the others, for its contents. 1790

Accordingly, the 2nd Battalion, having exchanged its sickly and weak men with the other battalions, was despatched in the following order:—

Half the 2nd Company, 2nd Battalion	Captain E. Montagu	Reduced in 1825
2 companies gun lascars	Lieut. H. Douglas	
6 6-pounder guns	Lieut.-Fireworker J. J. Briscoe	
1 do. carriage	2 sergeants	
10 tumbrils	2 corporals	
1 store cart *	1 drummer	
	4 gunners	
	28 matrosses	

With six battalions of native infantry, which marched by land under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Cockerell.[3]

* The proportion of ammunition sent was determined by a committee of stores then sitting. The General Order of February 9th directs that eight of the tumbrils were to be loaded accordingly; the other two proceeding spare, "with such an addition of small stores as the probable long march of the detachment might render necessary."

[1] G. O. 29th January, 1790.

[2] G. O. 8th February, 1790.

[3] G. O. February 9th, and Artillery Brigade Orders, dated Fort William, February 10th, 1790.

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1790 Subsequently sentby sea to Masulipatam[1] to join the same detachment was the—

A-16 R. A.	5th Company, 1st Battalion 3 companies gun lascars 2 12-pounder guns 8 6-pounder do. 1 12-pounder carriage 2 6-pounder do. 26 tumbrils 2 artificers' carts	Captain John Barton Lieut. Alexander Hind ,, J. Toppin Lieut.-Fireworker R. Tulloh ,, Thos. Hill Lieut. Andrew Glass, Adjutant

The remainder of the 2nd Battalion proceeded by sea to Madras. It consisted of—

	Lieut.-Colonel Chas. Russell Deare, commanding Major David Woodburn Lieut. George Johnston, adjutant ,, Henry Balfour, quarter-master Surgeon Henderson Assistant-Surgeon McCulloch Mr. Johnson, conductor of stores	Staff.
3-23 R.A.	1st Company, 2nd Battalion 2 companies gun lascars	Captain T. M. Elwood Lieut. James Horsburgh ,, Duncan Macpherson Lieut.-Fireworker Edward Wm. Butler Lieut. Clement Brown
	Half 2nd Company, 2nd Battalion	Lieut. Sebastian Nash Lieut.-Fireworker Wm. Feade
Reduced in 1825	3rd Company, 2nd Battalion 3 companies gun lascars	Captain John Horsford Lieut. John Tomkyns ,, John Nelly Lieut.-Fireworker Wm. Winbolt ,, Wm. Horatio Green
Reduced in 1825	4th Company, 2nd Battalion 2 companies gun lascars	Captain James Smith Lieut. Charles Wittit ,, Edward Clarke Lieut.-Fireworker Thos. Dowall ,, Arnold N. Matthews

[1] G. O. April 8th, 1790.

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5th Company, 2nd Battalion 3 companies gun lascars	Captain G. F. J. Sampson Lieut. Thos. Hardwicke ,, Peter Cranch Lieut.-Fireworker Andrew Dunn ,, G. Jones	1780 4-23 R.A.

On arrival at Madras, the artillery (excepting three companies of lascars, which, being on board a country ship, were delayed till the 19th of April) were ordered to the Mount. Lieutenant S. Nash, with half the 2nd Company, was directed to remain at Madras; the 1st, 3rd, and 5th Companies to join the main army in course of formation at Trichinopoly; and the 4th Company to proceed to Wállájábád, where Colonel Robert Kelly was in command of a force consisting of H.M.'s 74th Regiment, the 4th Madras European Infantry, the 21st and 27th Madras N.I., and Captain Robert Speediman's company of Madras Artillery.

While the 5th Company was at Wállájábád, a circumstance arose which led to the adjustment of precedence between the artillery and the other branches of the service. Lieutenant C. Wittit, when parading for picquet duty, on the 4th of May, with a party of the 74th Regiment, was about to take post on the right, as was customary in Bengal, but the adjutant directed him to form on the left, an order confirmed on the spot by the captain of the day. This produced a reference to headquarters; and the decision of Major-General Medows, the commander-in-chief in Madras, was as follows:—[1]

"His Majesty's Cavalry takes post of the Company's Cavalry, His Majesty's Artillery of the Company's Artillery, and His Majesty's Infantry of the Company's Infantry; but the Artillery takes post of the Infantry, without considering the service to which they belong."

[1] Cantonment Orders by Colonel Kelly, dated Wállájábád, May 10, 1790.

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1790 This was followed up by an order from Lord Cornwallis, directing that the Bengal troops were always to take the right of those belonging to either of the other presidencies; but that the latter were to have the precedence, each in their own presidency, drawing lots on neutral ground.[1]

May On the 24th of May Major-General Medows took command of the army. It was brigaded as shown in the

PLATE V. accompanying plan, which will give a good idea of the manner in which artillery used to be distributed along the line. As, however, in consequence of the order from Lord Cornwallis respecting precedence, the Bengal and Madras Artillery, which were at first posted to the left and right wings respectively, were ordered to exchange places, the plan, it must be observed, shows the latter arrangement. The change was made on the army marching into its ground near Kistnáverám, on the 12th of June; the various brigades of guns and their details moving into the corresponding places on the outer flanks of regiments, from right to left, and *vice versâ*. It is a convincing proof of the order and regularity which prevailed, that a change so complicated, involving the movement of seventeen brigades of guns along the whole line, and the two parks of the wings, was effected on Saturday morning, without necessitating a halt, as the army marched the following morning, Sunday the 13th, to Kistnáverám, where it halted one day.

The army left Trichinopoly on the 26th of May; three days after which the European soldiers were limited to one dram of arrack per diem,* in consequence of the

* The remarks of Major-General Medows, in communicating this order to the army, are appended as an instance of the ideas which then prevailed on the subject of drink as injurious to the soldier:—"The

[1] G. O. 1st June, 1790.

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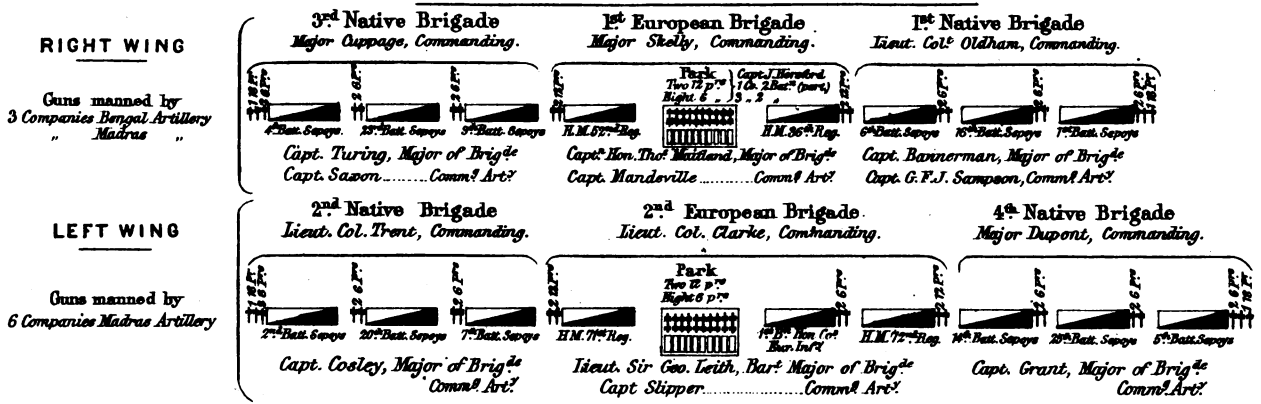
THE GRAND ARMY AS IT MARCHED FROM TRICHINOPOLY ON THE 26TH OF MAY, 1790.



Major General Medows	Commander in Chief.
Colonel Musgrave	Commanding the Line.
Lieut. Col. H. Malcombe	Adjutant General.
Lieut. Col. Cantwell	Quarter Master General.
Capt. Beatson	Captain of Guides.
Thos Kingscote, Esq.	Commissary of Grain &c.
Colley Lyon Lucas, Esq.	Surgeon General.
Andrew Panton	Medical Storekeeper.
Colonel Nixon	Commanding Right Wing.
Lieut. Col. Stuart	Do Left do
Lieut. Col. Floyd	Commanding Cavalry.
Lieut. Col. Geils, Madras Artv	Do Artillery.

Ordnance.

18 pounders	4
12 "	12
6 "	42
Total	58

Disposition of Artillery.

1st Eur. Bde	
1st Nat. Bde	5th Co. 2nd Battalion 6 Metrosses ½
3rd Nat. Bde	
2nd Eur. Bde	
2nd Nat. Bde	
4th Nat. Bde	

Lieut. Ginckie	Brigade Major, Cavalry.
Lieut. Conan, Adjt 2nd Batt Madras Artv	Do Artillery.
	Aide de Camp, Col. Nixon.
Lieut. J. Young	Do Lieut. Col. Stuart.
Capt. Dallas	Do Lieut. Col. Floyd.
Lieut. Fireworker J. Toppin, Bengal Artv	Do Lieut. Col. Geils.
Lieut. Col. C. R. Deare, Bengal Artv	Commd Artv Right Wing.
Lieut. Col. Moorhouse, Madras Artv	Do Left do
Major D. Woodburn, Bengal Artv	2nd in Commd Right do
Lieut. Geo. Johnston, do Artv	Adjt of Artv do do
Major Smith, Madras Artv	2nd in Commd Left do
	Adjt of Artv do do

London: Henry S. King & Co, 65, Cornhill. Edwd Weller, Lithe.

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smallness of the supply in camp. On the 15th of June possession was taken of Karur, which had been evacuated. Here the army halted till the 2nd of July, during which time a field hospital and depôt for stores was established in the fort. On the 6th of July the fort of Árává-Kurchi surrendered, after firing two stone shot out of bar guns.* Dárápúram and Coimbatoor were successively occupied on the 10th and 21st. The army was broken up for the rains in the beginning of August, head-quarters remaining at Coimbatoor. A detachment, consisting of the 1st Native Infantry Brigade, under Lieutenant-Colonel Oldham, with the six 6-pounder guns attached to it and one 18-pounder, Lieutenant-Colonel C. R. Deare commanding the artillery,† left camp on the 2nd for Errod, which was taken after thirty of the enemy's stone shot had been replied to by eleven rounds from the 18-pounder.[1] Another detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart, consisting of the 2nd Native Cavalry, the 52nd Regiment, two companies of the 1st Madras Europeans, the 2nd Native Brigade, and the 14th Battalion‡ of the 4th Native Brigade, was sent against Dindigal. Lieutenant-Colonel J. Moorhouse commanded

1790 June

July

August

general wishes he could give the soldiers four drams per day, instead of two, but in the present situation of the army he is determined to secure one per day for them as long as possible; he desires this may be explained to the men, as the cause for the present precaution, and that every means will be taken to bring to camp a large supply of arrack."

* In order that Tippoo might not be told he had surrendered without making any resistance.—Mackenzie.

† It is not easy to discover what companies furnished details for these detachments; they were, however, those which belonged to the guns attached to battalions. In the "East India Military Calendar" (i. 179), it appears that Lieutenant Hardwicke was at the Capture of Errod; and as Captain Sampson's company manned the guns of the 1st Native Brigade at this time, it must have been present.

‡ Without guns.

[1] Lieutenant Wittit's diary.

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1790 August

the artillery, which was furnished by the Madras company belonging to the brigades, though it appears that Lieutenant Tomkyns also was with the force.[1] Lieutenant John Bell, of the Madras Artillery, was wounded on this occasion.[2] On the 26th Lieutenant-Colonel Floyd, with another detachment, to which Captain Sampson's company was attached, took the fort of Sátiya Mangalam, at the foot of the hills near the Gazalhatti pass.

The army was now in separate detachments at Coimbatoor, Dindigal, Dárápúram, Errod, and Sátiya Mangalam; some of these held by small garrisons. Colonel Kelly was still at Wállájábád, awaiting the arrival from Bengal of the rest of the troops ordered on service; and Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart was sent in a south-western direction towards Pálghátcheri. So far, then, a few detached forts had been taken, but no movement of real importance had been made, and no blow struck at a vital point. The enemy had not yet shown at what place he intended to make his expected appearance. Yet one detachment was thrown out to the foot of the hills, at a distance from the main body, close to one of the passes leading into the Mysore territory. This dispersion of force

September

bore its fruit. On the 11th of September information was received at Sátiya Mangalam that Tippoo's army was descending the ghâts by the Gazalhatti pass. Early on the morning of the 13th they met a reconnoitring party of the cavalry, and Colonel Floyd having gone out to its support, the enemy were repulsed with the loss of above 400 killed. About 10 a.m., however, they appeared in full force, and came on so fast, that the camp was struck a second time, and the baggage thrown into a place of security. From their superior force, they

[1] "East India Military Calendar," i. 110.

[2] Lieutenant Wittit's diary.

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were enabled in crescent form to outflank Floyd's small force, and their fire was particularly severe upon its right flank, where the 36th Regiment, the 1st Battalion Madras N.I., and part of Captain Sampson's company were posted. About 12 o'clock, Lieutenant-Colonel C. R. Deare was killed by a shot in his breast; and shortly afterwards, Captain Sampson was severely wounded in the head by a splinter of rock. Still the force held its ground till dark, when the enemy began to draw off their guns. The casualties, particularly among the grenadiers of the 36th Regiment, were very great; half of the gun bullocks were killed, and their drivers deserting added to the confusion. The whole of the ordnance, except that on the left of the line, suffered proportionably; the axletrees of the two 12-pounders gave way, the 18-pounder limber was blown up by a shot, and Lieutenant Hardwicke's 6-pounders were so much damaged, that one only could travel. So before daylight on the 14th, Colonel Floyd had commenced his retreat, leaving the damaged ordnance behind. 1790 September

The river Bhawáni was crossed in basket boats, and the enemy did not molest them till one o'clock p.m., when they reopened their fire, and harassed the force by a succession of attacks, which were met and repulsed by the infantry in splendid style, sometimes both in front and rear at once, and reserving their fire till the foe were almost on the point of the bayonet. Nevertheless, another 6-pounder and two tumbrils were taken; but "it was astonishing the havoc which the remaining gun made."[1] The light infantry company of the 36th Regiment, who were with it in rear, behaved with remarkable coolness. They had Captain Hartley and 36 men killed, and it was owing to this part of the force and the

[1] Letter from Lieutenant Hardwicke in Lieutenant's Wittit's diary.

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1794 September cavalry that the column was saved.* It met the main body of the army at Veládi on the 16th. The artillery lost in this action one 18, two 12, and three 6-pounder guns; and in officers and men as follows:—

	Lieut.-Colonel.	Captain.	Lieutenant.	Lt.-Fireworker.	Corporal.	Gunners.	Matrosses.	Serangs.	1st Tindals.	Lascars.	Total.
Killed ...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	6	8
Wounded	...	1	1	1	...	2	7	1	1	11	25
Missing		...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	3	4
Total ...	1	1	1	1	1	2	8	1	1	20	37

Officer killed: Lieut.-Colonel C. R. Deare.

Officers wounded: Captain Sampson, very severely. Lieutenant Horsburgh. Lieutenant-Fireworker Winbolt.

Lieutenant-Colonel Floyd, writing to Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart, detailing this affair, adds in a postscript:

"I should like to dwell on the exemplary good conduct of the sepoys, horse and foot; all I can write cannot exceed their merits. His Majesty's Regiment and the Artillery did themselves justice with their accustomed valour and conduct."†

* It is related in a memoir of Major-General Clement Brown, C.B., that at about 6 o'clock on the evening of the 15th of September, a choice body of Tippoo's Household Cavalry came down, headed by Burhán ud din Khán, a brother-in-law, and trusted chief in the army of Tippoo, upon the English line. The men were exhausted by fatigue and want of rest; and Lieutenant Brown, who commanded a 6-pounder in that part of the line immediately opposite to the advance of the cavalry, had but one shot and a little priming powder left. With this he loaded, and himself laid his gun for the richly gilded howdah in which the chieftain was seated. Already the shouts of the enemy anticipated victory. But the shot was true to its aim, and struck the howdah; the elephant turned and made off to the rear, and the cheers of the Europeans and cries of "Din, din" from the sepoys followed the discomfited cavalry. That Burhán ud din Khán, who was killed this day, met his death in this way appears tolerably certain. Colonel Floyd mentions it, but without the name of the chief; this was also corroborated by Mr. J. Watson, Assistant Commissary of Ordnance, and an invalided havildár of lascars, both of whom were present on the occasion.—*East India United Service Journal* for 1838, vol. xiii. p. 15.

† The details of this action are taken chiefly from the letters of

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In consequence of this reverse, Errod and Dárápúram fell into the enemy's hands. The garrison of the latter place, two companies of 1st Madras Europeans, some sepoys, and a few Bengal artillerymen were allowed their lives and property on parole of not serving again during the campaign—a piece of generosity due to Kamar ud din, Tippoo's best general, rather than to his master. 1790 September

Colonel Kelly's force had moved from Wállájábád, on the 29th of July, down the coast as far as Cuddalore, and returned on the 27th of August to Árni, where it was completed and brigaded thus :—

1st Brigade, Lieut.-Colonel Maxwell, commanding	74th Regiment 3rd, 13th, and 26th Bengal N.I. 2nd Company, 2nd Battalion Bengal Artillery, Captain Montagu
2nd Brigade, Lieut.-Colonel J. Cockerell, commanding	76th Regiment 7th, 14th, and 28th Bengal N.I. 5th Company, 1st Battalion Bengal Artillery, Captain J. Barton
3rd Brigade, Major Russell, commanding	4th Madras European Battalion 21st and 27th Madras N.I. Captain Speediman's company of Madras Artillery *

Major D. Woodburn commanded the artillery.

Ordnance in park (all brass): Four 18-pounder, eight 12-pounder, twenty 6-pounder, and two 3-pounder guns ; two $5\frac{1}{2}$-inch howitzers.

4th Company, 2nd Battalion Bengal Artillery, Captain J. Smith.

Colonel Kelly died at Árni, on the 23rd of September, of a disease like cholera. He was counted one of the

Lieutenant-Colonel Floyd, dated Patchypolliam, 21st September; and of Lieutenant Hardwicke, dated Coimbatoor, 17th *idem*, which are in Lieutenant Wittit's diary.

* Captain Speediman had been at Wállájábád with this division, and as he does not appear to have been relieved, his must have been the company attached to the 3rd Brigade.

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1790 September — best officers in the Madras army. Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, of the 74th Regiment, succeeded to the command. The force left Árni in the end of the month for

October — Arcot, whence in October it moved up the Pálár river as far as Ambur and Vániambádi, just within the limits of Tippoo's dominions. Thence by Tripasore to Kistnagheri, a fort held by the enemy. It was not considered advisable to attempt its reduction, and Colonel Maxwell continued his route to Káveripatnam, receiving a salute from the garrison of four guns, shotted, as they passed. Here the enemy began to show in force, and

See PLATE IX. Chap. VI.

November — they halted from the 3rd to the 16th of November. On the 11th the enemy succeeded in drawing the grand guard* into an ambuscade. It consisted of a troop of cavalry; the men, by an unaccountable negligence, had neither pistols nor carbines loaded, and the whole party, within sight of their camp, were killed or captured. On the 14th the enemy appeared in regular columns, apparently intending to fight, and Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell was prepared to receive them; but the day passed without any result, and next day they had drawn off, and were seen in the evening moving in the direction of Ryakáta. Next day, the 16th, hirkáras gave them the unlooked-for intelligence that Major General Medows was only twelve miles off, at Pulamhalli, at which place Colonel Maxwell joined him on the

PLATE VI. 17th. The army returned thence to Womalore, where, on the 20th, it was re-brigaded.

Tippoo, not wishing to risk a battle, had gone towards Trichinopoly, which contained a large quantity of stores, and was not a strong place; Major-General Medows therefore, on the 22nd, marched towards Velaut, on the

* It was the centre advanced picquet, placed about a mile in front of the camp, and usually consisted of both cavalry and infantry.

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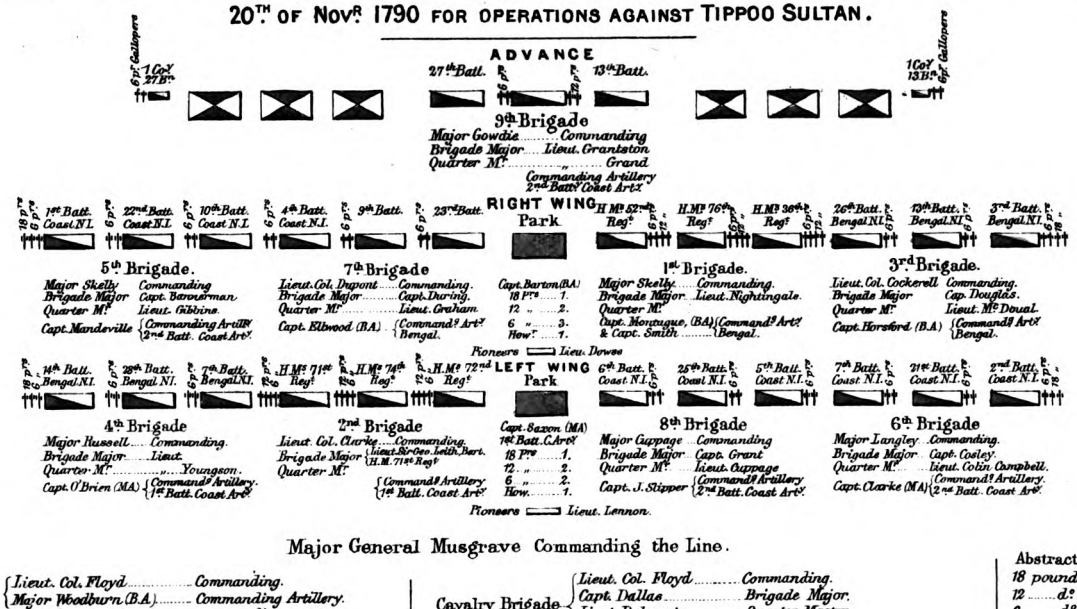
ORDER OF THE GRAND ARMY UNDER COMMAND OF MAJOR GEN.L MEDOWS AS BRIGADED IN CAMP AT WOMALORE ON THE 20TH OF NOVR 1790 FOR OPERATIONS AGAINST TIPPOO SULTAN.


ADVANCE
6pr. Galloper
1 Coy 27th B.n
27th Batt.
13th Batt.
1 Coy 13th B.n
6pr. Galloper
9th Brigade
Major Gowdie ..... Commanding
Brigade Major ..... Lieut. Grantston
Quarter M.r ..... " ..... Grand
Commanding Artillery
2nd Batt.n Coast Artv.
RIGHT WING
Park
1st Batt. Coast N.I.
22nd Batt. Coast N.I.
10th Batt. Coast N.I.
4th Batt. Coast N.I.
9th Batt.
23rd Batt.
H.M.s 52nd Regt
H.M.s 76th Regt
H.M.s 36th Regt
26th Batt. Bengal N.I.
13th Batt. Bengal N.I.
3rd Batt. Bengal N.I.
5th Brigade.
Major Skelly ..... Commanding
Brigade Major ..... Capt. Bannerman
Quarter M.r ..... Lieut. Gibbins
Capt. Mandeville ..... {Commanding Artillery / 2nd Batt. Coast Artv.
7th Brigade
Lieut. Col. Dupont ..... Commanding.
Brigade Major ..... Capt. During.
Quarter M.r ..... Lieut. Graham.
Capt. Elwood (D.A) ..... {Command.g Artv. / Bengal.
Capt. Barton (BA) ..... 18 Prs ..... 1.
12 " ..... 2.
6 " ..... 3.
How.rs ..... 1.
1st Brigade.
Major Skelly ..... Commanding.
Brigade Major ..... Lieut. Nightingale.
Quarter M.r
Capt. Montague, (BA) & Capt. Smith ..... {Command.g Artv. / Bengal.
3rd Brigade.
Lieut. Col. Cockerell ..... Commanding.
Brigade Major ..... Cap. Douglas.
Quarter M.r ..... Lieut. M.c Doual.
Capt. Horsford (D.A) ..... {Command.g Artv. / Bengal.
Pioneers ..... Lieut. Dewse
14th Batt. Bengal N.I.
28th Batt. Bengal N.I.
7th Batt. Bengal N.I.
H.M.s 71st Regt
H.M.s 74th Regt
H.M.s 72nd Regt
LEFT WING
Park
6th Batt. Coast N.I.
25th Batt. Coast N.I.
5th Batt. Coast N.I.
7th Batt. Coast N.I.
21st Batt. Coast N.I.
2nd Batt. Coast N.I.
4th Brigade
Major Russell ..... Commanding.
Brigade Major ..... Lieut.
Quarter M.r ..... Youngson
Capt. O'Brien (MA) ..... {Command.g Artillery / 1st Batt. Coast Artv.
2nd Brigade
Lieut. Col. Clarke ..... Commanding.
Brigade Major ..... {Lieut. Sir Geo. Leith, Bart. / H.M. 71st Regt
Quarter M.r
{Command.g Artillery / 1st Batt. Coast Artv.
Capt. Saxon (MA) ..... 1st Batt. C.Artv
18 Prs ..... 1.
12 " ..... 2.
6 " ..... 2.
How. ..... 1.
8th Brigade
Major Cuppage ..... Commanding
Brigade Major ..... Capt. Grant
Quarter M.r ..... Lieut. Cuppage
Capt. J. Slipper ..... {Command.g Artillery / 2nd Batt. Coast Artv.
6th Brigade
Major Langley ..... Commanding.
Brigade Major ..... Capt. Cosley.
Quarter M.r ..... Lieut. Colin Campbell.
Capt. Clarke (MA) ..... {Command.g Artillery / 2nd Batt. Coast Artv.
Pioneers ..... Lieut. Lennon.

Major General Musgrave Commanding the Line.

Advance
- Lieut. Col. Floyd ..... Commanding.
- Major Woodburn (B.A.) ..... Commanding Artillery.

Right Wing
- Lieut. Col. Stuart ..... Commanding.
- Lieut. Young ..... Aides de Camp.
- Lieut. Wilks (Super.d) .....
- Lieut. Col. Moorhouse (MA) ..... Commanding Artillery.

Left Wing
- Lieut Col. Maxwell ..... Commanding.
- Capt. Clarke ..... Aides de Camp.
- Capt. Agnew (Super.d) .....
- Major Smith (M.A) ..... Commanding Artillery.

Cavalry Brigade
- Lieut. Col. Floyd ..... Commanding.
- Capt. Dallas ..... Brigade Major.
- Lieut. Dalmonte ..... Quarter Master.
- Lieut. Ginckie ..... Aide de Camp.

Artillery
- Lieut. Col. Geils (MA) ..... Commanding.
- Lieut. Coman (M.A.) ..... Brigade Major.
- Lieut. Currie ..... Aide de Camp.

Bengal Artillery Manning the Guns of the 1st 3rd & 7th Brigades & Park of Right Wing.
1st Batt. Coast Artv (Madras) ..... d.o ..... 2nd 4th & 8th ..... d.o ..... & Park of left Wing.
2nd d.o ..... d.o ..... d.o ..... d.o ..... 5th 6th & 9th ..... d.o .....

Abstract of Guns.

18 pounders	7
12 d.o	18
6 d.o	59
3 d.o	2
Howitzers	2
Total	88

F. W. Stubbs, Bengal H.A.

From the M.S. Order Books Hd Qr. Mess Bengal Artillery.

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left bank of the river Káveri, and thence to Mansurpett, opposite to Trichinopoly, where he remained from the 14th to the 29th December. A sudden rise in the river had prevented Tippoo effecting anything. On the 30th of December the army again marched, and reached Velaut, near Madras, on the 27th of January. 1790 November 1791

The command of the 2nd Battalion, vacant by the death of Lieutenant-Colonel C. R. Deare, had fallen to Major Vere Warner Hussey, promoted; and the eldest captain, E. Montagu, and Lieutenant A. Glass acted as major and captain, pending the confirmation of the Court of Directors.[1] Lieutenant-Colonel Hussey, however, remained in Bengal,* and Major Montagu, posted to the 3rd, continued in command of the 2nd Battalion. Captain Glass was appointed to the 2nd Company, 2nd Battalion. Lieutenant-Fireworker Jones had died at Nagore, in November, and Lieutenant S. Nash at Karur, on the 14th of December. To complete vacancies, a detachment of the following strength[2] was sent round from Bengal:—

Officers.	EUROPEANS.			NATIVES.		
	Artillery-men.	Sent from Bengal.	Arrived in camp.	Lascars, &c.	Sent from Bengal.	Arrived in camp.
Captain Geo. Howell	Sergeants	1	1	Serangs	2	2
Lieut. James R. Exshaw	Corporals	1	1	1st Tindals	2	1
Lieut. Thos. Greene	Gunners	6	7	2nd Tindals	2	2
Lieut.-Fireworker Alex. Macleod	Matrosses	40	45	Lascars	200	152
Lieut. Alex. Buchan				Pukallies	6	...

* He had received a wound in the first Mysore war which rendered him lame.

[1] Minutes of Council, Military Department, Calcutta, November 3rd, 1790.

[2] G. O. by Earl Cornwallis, November 22nd, 1790.

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1791 Lieutenants Exshaw and Macleod were posted to the 2nd and 5th Companies respectively,[1] *vice* Nash and Jones; Lieutenants Greene and Buchan (who belonged to companies in Bengal) were attached for duty to the 4th and 1st Companies; and Lieutenant Wittit was removed from the 4th to the 5th Company of the 2nd Battalion.[2]

Earl Cornwallis had already determined to assume personal command of the army in the Carnatic. He arrived at Fort St. George on the 12th of December, and at Camp Velaut on the 29th of January. Colonel Patrick Duff, who had shortly before returned from England, having offered his services,[3] was ordered to take the command of the Bengal Artillery in the Madras presidency,[4] and arrived at the same time as the Governor-General.

Lord Cornwallis' plan was to invade Mysore and attack Seringapatam. The line of Vellore and Bangalore was selected. Captain Alexander Beatson, of the corps of Guides, who had been with the central army, under Colonels Kelly and Maxwell, had made a rapid survey of all the routes into the enemy's country from the Carnatic; and from the information he was able to give, Lord Cornwallis decided upon his line of advance. Tippoo, aware that the offensive was intended, closely watched the passes by Kistnagheri and in the south-east, by which he expected his visitors; but Lord Cornwallis, leaving the neighbourhood of Madras on February 5th, reached Vellore on the 11th, and then changing direction to the right, made Chitur on the 15th,

February

[1] G. O. Camp Velaut, February 3rd, 1791.

[2] Bengal Artillery Orders, Camp Ponalore, February 8th, 1791.

[3] Minutes of Council, Military Department, Calcutta, December 3rd, 1793.

[4] G. O. by Earl Cornwallis, Fort St. George, December 14th, 1790.

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ascended the Mugli pass without opposition on the 17th and 18th, and on the 20th the army was encamped on the high table-land beyond: at Malwágal on the 24th. The forts of Kolár and Uskáta were taken, without serious opposition, on February 28th and March 2nd; except that the gate of the last-named place had to be blown open, which was done by Lieutenant Tomkyns. The enemy appeared in the field for the first time this day, and carried off some cattle. A few rockets * were thrown into camp on the night of the 4th; and next day, on which the army encamped before Bangalore, an attempt was made upon the life of Lord Cornwallis by three horsemen primed with *bhang*, but fortunately unsuccessfully. On the 7th the pettah, or town, of Bangalore was taken by assault. The following account is from the diary of Lieutenant Wittit:—

1791 February

March

7th March

March 7th.—At 4 o'clock this morning, a detachment, consisting of the 36th Regiment and Captain Scott's battalion † of Bengal sepoys, with four iron 18-pounders ‡ and two iron 12-pounders, was ordered down to attack the pettah of Bangalore—the infantry under Lieut.-Colonel Cockerell, of the Bengal establishment'; the artillery under Lieut.-Colonel Moorhouse, of the Madras Artillery. When the detachment had got within 400 yards of the place, it was obliged to halt for the chief engineer (Major Maule, of the Madras establishment), who had been ordered to

* Lieutenant Wittit says of them in his diary: "These rockets are newly invented, being made to burst, which they do with an explosion like a great gun. But I by no means look upon this as an improvement, for they neither go so true nor so far as the old ones; and as to the bursting, it is no use whatever (except, indeed, that the noise may frighten horse, when thrown among them), for being made of beat iron, they only rip, and never fly in pieces, as cast iron would do."

† The 26th Regiment Bengal Native Infantry at that time.

‡ Major-General Medows had at first intended to bring with him on this campaign four brass 18-pounders, but owing to Lord Cornwallis' just aversion to brass ordnance of this calibre, he left two at Trichinopoly, and marched with four iron and two brass—the former, two in each park; the latter, one on each flank of the line.—M.S. General Orders, "Correspondence of Lord Cornwallis," vol. ii. p. 60, 62.

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1791 7th March attend, to point out the gate to be attacked. The day now began to break, and in this most disagreeable suspense they remained for about half an hour. He then joined, and they proceeded under cover of some rising ground to within 100 yards of the works, when the heavy guns were unlimbered and fired on the works; the enemy returning a very smart fire of musketry and rockets. When within thirty yards of the gate, the flank companies of the 36th Regiment were ordered to storm a redoubt that covered it, and which they carried with the loss only of one man; they drove the enemy from the works and were following them into the pettah, but were stopped by a second gateway at the end of a narrow road, enclosed on each side by a high wall and an impenetrable jungle,* and covered with two strong bastions. The field-pieces that went in with the infantry endeavoured to blow open the gate, but not effecting it, an iron 12-pounder was ordered in, which in three or four rounds did the business; and the grenadiers entered, headed by General Medows,† who had come in consequence of Lieut.-Colonel Moorhouse being killed, to encourage the troops; for during the interval of our first getting to the gate and its being blown open (about thirty minutes), the enemy kept up an incessant fire of rockets and matchlocks, and a continual shower of stones and powder-bags—all which, from the crowd and narrowness of the place, could not miss taking effect. Our loss in this business was, as before mentioned, Lieut.-Colonel Moorhouse, of the Madras Artillery.‡ He fell, sincerely lamented by the army, as a worthy man and a good soldier. Captain Delany, of the 36th Regiment, was likewise killed. Lieutenant Conan, brigade-major of artillery, was desperately,§ and several other officers slightly, wounded. We had

* This "jungle" was a closely set hedge of prickly pear.

† Headed rather by Lieutenant Ayre, of that regiment, who, being of small bodily size, was first put through the opening in the door. See Thornton's "History of India," and Captain Rafter's "Our Anglo-Indian Army," where this officer is erroneously mentioned as belonging to the 86th Regiment.

‡ This officer, so highly distinguished in the roll of the Madras Artillery, had risen from the ranks. "An officer," Munro said of him, "equal to any danger" (see ante, chapter iii.). Colonel Wilkes thus describes him: "Nature had made him a gentleman; uneducated, he had made himself a man of science. A career of uninterrupted distinction had commanded general respect, and his amiable character, universal attachment." The Madras Government, to testify their respect for his memory, decreed his remains a public funeral and a monument in the church of Fort St. George.—General Order, dated 22nd March, 1791.

§ He lost a leg, and died shortly afterwards. Lieutenant G. Johnstone, of the Bengal Artillery, officiated as brigade-major for him.

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10 Europeans killed, and 16 wounded, and several natives.* The troops carried everything before them after entering the pettah, and drove the enemy into the fort, which soon after opened a heavy fire from all quarters." 1791 7th March

In the afternoon Tippoo made an attempt to regain the town, and sent Kamar ud din Khán down under cover of the fort, while he created a diversion by a show of attacking the main body. Kamar ud din Khán was, however, driven back with loss, after a spirited encounter, the 36th Regiment capturing two stands of colours.

The four following days were employed in erecting, at 1200 yards, a battery of ten 18-pounders, and two enfilade batteries of two 12-pounders each, which opened on the 12th. Another battery of two 24-pounders opened on the 14th, but proved to be badly constructed, and unable to stand the fire. A breaching battery, armed with a 24-pounder, and seven of the 18-pounders from that first erected, opened at 2 p.m. on the 16th; but this too, from the faultiness of its structure, could not be got to work with effect. It was reconstructed during the night, and opened with effect the next morning. Tippoo made an attempt this day to relieve the place by an attack upon the right flank and rear of the camp, but would not accept a general engagement, and drew off again. Some of their irregular horse managed to get into camp and commit some depredations. There were between 40 and 50 killed and wounded on our side in this affair, but no officers. The casualties in the trenches this day were, however, somewhat severe. Captain Slipper, Madras Artillery, was killed in the eight-gun battery in the afternoon, and several Europeans, sepoys, and lascars. On this day, a rocket having struck one of the magazines of the nine-gun battery,

16th March

17th March

* Total number of casualties, 131.—Cornwallis Correspondence, ii. 69.

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1791 17th March Gunner John Hay, of Captain Saxon's company, 2nd Battalion Coast Artillery, with great presence of mind, extricated the missile before any damage could be done, for which Lord Cornwallis awarded him a donation of 10 pagodas (equal to 35 rupees present currency).[1]

On the 18th, notwithstanding the strength of the wall, "so just was the aim of our artillery,"[2] that the breach was thought to be practicable; but Lord Cornwallis directed another parallel to be constructed within 200 yards of the fort. This was done during the night. On the morning of the 19th, a four-gun battery, constructed on the night of the 17th, opened upon the defences at the gateway. This was enlarged this day for more guns. The enemy's artillery fire was considerably reduced, but they still kept it up sharply from the outworks with matchlocks. The breach which had been made in the curtain contiguous to the Delhi gate was abandoned, and the whole of the breaching guns concentrated upon the defences of the gateway. The cause of this change was a report made to Lord Cornwallis by Captain Beatson, of the Guides, who had carefully examined this portion of the works, and who had observed that a small tower on the north-east angle communicated with the body of the place; and while a breach here would be quite accessible, that in the curtain lay behind a wet ditch, and was not to be reached but at an expense of time and risk of loss, neither of which could be afforded. Lord Cornwallis, therefore, directed Captain Beatson to proceed to the batteries and acquaint Lieutenant-Colonel Geils with the change which was to take place; and this was done accordingly. A mortar battery was this day finished on the left of the advanced parallel.

19th March

20th March The fire of the 20th having further widened the new

[1] G. O. March 29th, 1791. [2] Mackenzie, ii. p. 104.

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breach, a working party from the 72nd Regiment commenced at dark to open a sap from the advanced six-gun battery to the crest of the glacis. The casualties of this night were numerous. 1791 20th March

Early on the following morning, Tippoo came down with his whole force, and, under cover of a heavy fog, brought down heavy guns to bear upon the town, while his main army covered the intended attack; but on the atmosphere clearing up at 8 o'clock, the advance of the right wing by columns compelled the Sultán to abandon his attempts. It was, however, renewed in the evening, and Lord Cornwallis determined to storm. The small bastion close to the Delhi gate, as also another larger, which bore upon the old breach, and flanked the shattered curtain to the eastward, had suffered very severely from the fire of the breaching batteries. The communication over the ditch, which was not fordable here, was by a causeway. Across this, a deep and wide trench had been dug, leaving on the right hand a pathway two feet broad, the only approach. 21st March

At 11 o'clock at night the storming party was under arms, and moved forward under a heavy cannonade, which had been kept up without intermission since daylight; and as they advanced, the firing was continued with blank cartridge. They gained the top without very much opposition, and wheeling right and left, bore down resistance and secured possession of the place. In his order published the following day, Lord Cornwallis says:

"The judicious arrangements which were made by Colonel Duff in the Artillery department, and his exertions, and those of the officers and soldiers of that corps in general, in the service of the batteries, are entitled to his Lordship's highest approbation; to which he desires to add, that he thinks himself much obliged to Lieut.-Colonel Geils for the able manner in which he directed the fire during the day of the 21st."

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1791 March — The loss of the garrison amounted to above a thousand; among them, the Kiladár Bahádur Khán, who fell fighting and alone, and was interred by the British with the honour due to his gallantry. The loss of the British was 16 killed, 74 wounded.

On the 28th the army marched to Ventkátagheri, leaving a detachment * with the heavy park in the fort under Colonel Duff; and having effected a junction with about ten thousand of Nizám Ali's horse, and a detachment of between four and five thousand men, under Lieutenant-Colonel Oldham, with a convoy, it returned April to Bangalore on the 28th of April. But the cattle, never sufficient either in number or condition for the conveyance of stores, were by this time so reduced by casualties, that Lord Cornwallis was obliged to call upon the officers to reduce their baggage and camp equipage to the greatest possible extent, and apply the carriage thereby rendered available to the conveyance of public stores. This was well responded to on the part of the army; and the camp followers were also tempted to assist in conveying shot on being promised one rupee for every 18-pounder, and one and a half for every 24-pounder shot which should be delivered in to the commissary of ordnance (Captain R. Bell, Madras Artillery) at Seringapatam.

The garrison at Bangalore was withdrawn, and replaced by detachments from each regiment and some of the companies of artillery—the whole placed under Lieutenant-Colonel Oldham; and Colonel Duff rejoined the army.[1] A captain of the Madras Artillery was left in command of that branch, and Lieutenant H. Douglas as commissary of stores. Lieutenant George Johnstone

* Captain Glass's company, and Lieutenant Wittit with Captain Sampson's company, formed part of the garrison.—G. A. O. 24th March.

[1] G. O. April 28th.

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succeeded as brigade-major Lieutenant Conan, who was left at Bangalore.[1] Lieutenant Briscoe, who had been promoted, *vice* Leonard, deceased, was officiating as adjutant of the Bengal Artillery for Lieutenant Johnstone. Lieutenant-Colonel David Smith was at this time appointed to the command of the 2nd Battalion Madras Artillery, *vice* Moorhouse;[2] and Lieutenant-Fireworker William Coupland, of the same regiment, was ordered to join the army.[3] 1791 April

The army marched from Bangalore on the 3rd. Between this and Seringapatam interposed a wide tract of wild, uncultivated jungle. The direct route was occupied by Tippoo. A more northerly one led by the stronghold of Sávandrug, Utradrug, and Huliyadrug, which would have to be reduced *en route*. The southerly route, by Kánkanelli, Sultánpet, and Málávelli, was therefore chosen. It promised, too, an earlier junction with a force coming from Bombay. But the tracks (for it was not a road), rugged and stony, went through a country laid utterly waste wherever there was anything to be destroyed, and the cattle, reduced in number, and scantily fed on grass-roots and mango leaves, fell down exhausted under their yokes, and were left to die along the wayside by scores. The ordnance with the force only amounted to 52 field-pieces, a few howitzers, and 15 siege guns. On the 10th they reached Málávelli, clear of the jungles; and on the 13th arrived at Arikera, about nine miles east of Seringapatam. Tippoo had drawn up his force about six miles off, covering his capital; his right resting on the Káveri, and his left on a chain of hills—a deep ravine defended by batteries in his front, the extent of which at no place between the two camps was greater May

[1] G. O. April 30th, 1791.
[2] G. G. O. Fort St. George, 25th April, 1791. [3] Ibid.

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1791 May

than a mile and a half, and close to the position was but a mile long. It was therefore a most formidable one, even with worse troops than those which then held it. For the decisive blow which his position now called for, Lord Cornwallis determined to turn their left flank, and, if possible, cut the Sultán off from his capital by a night march. The force destined for this service consisted of the 19th Light Dragoons, the three strongest regiments of native cavalry, the six regiments of H.M.'s foot, and twelve battalions of native infantry. Field-pieces only were taken. Colonel Duff had command of the camp, which was left standing, with the rest of the force, stores, and heavy artillery.

The difficulty of getting over the intricate and raviny ground in the dark was increased almost at starting by a very heavy storm of thunder and rain; the wheel tracks were obliterated, corps got separated, and Lord Cornwallis at one time found himself alone with a single gun. On the morning of the 15th, however, they got on better, though the object of surprising the enemy and placing a force between him and his capital was lost. The enemy, however, accepted the challenge, and met the English. After a hard-fought day they were driven beneath the walls of Seringapatam.* The casualties in this action were 81 killed, 339 wounded, and 6 missing, including

* The enemy's position was upon the Karighát heights, overlooking the eastern end of the island on which Seringapatam is built. Colonel Blacker, in his "Memoirs of the Pindári War" (p. 185), relates that Salábat Khán, the Nawáb of Elichpur, who was present, was somewhat taken aback by the hardihood with which the English soldiers prepared to assault a difficult height, crowned by a powerful battery. When the attack had succeeded, he turned to Colonel Close, beside whom he then was, and said, "For friendship's sake, tell me candidly and confidentially, were those countrymen of yours made drunk previous to the assault; for, whether I consider the desperate nature of the service, or the gaiety with which it was undertaken, I am alike at a loss to attribute their conduct to men in their sober senses?"

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several officers. Of these the following were among the artillery:— 1791 May

	KILLED.		WOUNDED.				
	Rank and File.	Gun Lascars.	Officers.	Rank and File.	Tindals.	Gun Lascars.	Total.
Bengal Artillery	1	7	1	1	2	2	14
Madras Artillery, 1st Battalion ...	2	2		...	3	5	12
Madras Artillery, 2nd Battalion ...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
	3	9	1	1	5	8	27

Name of officer wounded: Lieutenant Duncan Macpherson. Died 21st May.

The order-books do not give numbers of the companies which accompanied the force, but on comparing the disposition of artillery along the line with the list of regiments, it appears that the 1st, or Captain Elwood's, 3-23 R.A. the 3rd, or Captain Horsford's, and the 4th, or Captain Not now existing J. Smith's, Companies of the 2nd Battalion were all present. It is probable, too, according to the same source of information, that Captains Mandeville and Clarke, of the Madras Artillery, were present with their companies.

About forty miles west of Seringapatam, at Periapatam, and within earshot of the cannonade on the 15th, was Major-General Abercromby, arrived from Bombay, with four European regiments and seven native infantry battalions; and Lord Cornwallis was anxious to effect a junction. The Máhrátá chiefs, Hari Pant and Parsarám Bháo, who were expected with another reinforcement, had not arrived, nor was anything known of their whereabouts. The Governor-General accordingly moved upon Kániambádi, eight miles beyond Seringapatam, on the Káveri. It was not reached till the 20th. But for

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1791 May

the last two days the guns and wheeled carriages had been dragged along almost solely by the men; the insufficient food became alarmingly scanty, and Lord Cornwallis found himself obliged to sacrifice his heavy guns, and to retreat on Bangalore till the conclusion of the rains should enable him to recommence operations. He announced his determination to the army in a general order, of which a part is here given. He tells the truth with perfect frankness, and at the same time there is not a word in it which would make the most faint-hearted despond.

"GENERAL ORDERS.

"Head Quarters, Camp at Kániambádi,
"23rd May, 1791.

"Lord Cornwallis cannot too much applaud the public spirit which was manifested by the troops in so cheerfully dragging the battery train, which, for the several last marches, the reduced state of the cattle rendered it impossible to move without their assistance.

"So long as there were any hopes of reducing Seringapatam before the commencement of the rains, the Commander-in-Chief thought himself happy in availing himself of their willing services; but the unexpected series of bad weather which we have for some time past experienced having rendered the attack of the enemy's capital impracticable until the conclusion of the ensuing monsoons, Lord Cornwallis thought he should make an ill return to the zeal and alacrity exhibited by the soldiers, if he desired them to draw guns and stores back to a magazine where there still remains an ample supply of both, which was captured by their valour from the enemy.

"He therefore did not hesitate to order the guns and stores which were not wanted for field service to be destroyed; and he desires that all the soldiers of the army, both Europeans and natives, may be acquainted with the reasons which induced him to come to that determination."

So the heavy guns were burst, the stores for which no conveyance could be found were buried or burned, and the last of the carriages and carts were in flames, on

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the 26th of May, as the army left the ground they had occupied for six days. The same day, they fell in with the Máhrátá army, about 40,000 strong, under Hari Pant and Parsarám Bháo, whose arrival a few days sooner would have entirely altered the course of events. The retreat was continued by a more northerly route; and the strong fort of Huliyadrug was surrendered by its Kiladár on the 20th of June. It is described as a place of considerable strength, situated upon a perpendicular rock 300 feet in height, and about a mile in circumference, the top overhanging the base on all sides but one, and the only approach by steps cut in the face of the rock, with a ladder twenty feet long, through a natural arch at one part; so that the fort might easily have held its own. 1791 May June

The Kiladár of Utradrug was more faithful to his trust; and Lord Cornwallis, not intending to delay, left it and Sávandrug, and once more took up his position at Bangalore on the 11th July, where he immediately began to recruit his means for the recommencement, in the cold season, of operations against Seringapatam. Colonel Duff was again appointed to the command at this place, to enable him to prepare the siege train, which was to be completed from Madras and Bengal. Lieutenant H. Douglas was retained as commissary of ordnance. July

On the 15th July the army, with a small battering train of two 24, two 18, and four 12-pounders, moved forward to open the Pálikod pass, through which led the principal line of communication with the Carnatic, by depriving the enemy of the different forts commanding it. Major Gowdie, who had been detached before with the 7th Brigade, on the same day occupied Ossoor, which was evacuated on his approach. As it was a place of

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1791 July — importance, Captain Glass, with the 2nd Company, 2nd Battalion, was left there, along with a battalion of Bengal volunteers. From thence Major Gowdie moved on Ryakáta, which after some resistance surrendered. The occupation of several other neighbouring forts followed.

August — The convoy of elephants and cattle from Bengal with grain arrived next month; Captain Glass, with the heavy guns, accompanied them from Ossoor to Bangalore.

September — On the 12th of September a detachment under Major Gowdie, consisting of the 8th Brigade, with four 12-pounders and two mortars under Major E. Montagu, was sent to take the various hill forts north-east of Bangalore, which obstructed the communication with the country of our ally, the Nizám of Hyderabad. The artillery with it were Captain Smith's company, and the details of Madras Artillery which belonged to the 8th Brigade. Lieutenant Fireworker Matthews, of the former, had been sent to the left wing, and was not present with it; Lieutenant Geoghegan and Lieutenant Fireworker J. Russell were with the latter. The first place attacked was Rahmángarh,* a strong fort, but which surrendered on the evening of the 17th, shortly after Major Montagu had opened fire.

From thence Major Gowdie marched to Nandidrug. In point of strength, this fort ranked after Sávandrug,[1] Chitaldrug, and Kistnagheri; but it had, with a feeble garrison, withstood all the efforts of Hydar Ali for three years. Situated at an elevation of about 1700 feet above the general level, it was only accessible on one side, which was defended by a double wall and an outwork covering the gateway. The force arrived before the place on the 22nd. On the 29th Captain Norman

* Also called Rahmándrug.

[1] Dirom.

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Macleod, with the 13th Bengal and 10th Madras N.I., arrived, and brought two more siege guns and four mortars. A further reinforcement of heavy guns and stores was sent from the army on the 1st of October, and Lieutenant Thomas Hill, 5th Company, 1st Battalion, with 20 gun lascars, arrived along with them. 1791 September October

Lieutenant Colin Mackenzie, of the Madras establishment, was the senior engineer. The first battery was erected on an adjoining hill, and completed on the 2nd of October. Up this hill, during the two next nights, the guns were dragged by tackles fixed to posts, rocks, and trees, and worked in the darkness by the more silent * exertions of elephants. Major Montagu directed the operations; but the effect of the shot, directed at a long range against the massive stone defences, was insufficient to make a breach. A mortar battery, which opened from the pettah, was found useless from the great height of the fort.

Lord Cornwallis—who, from his camp at Singanipilli, close by, watched the proceedings—therefore felt constrained to make more regular approaches, notwithstanding that the steepness of the ascent made the undertaking an unusually formidable one. Captain Kyd, of the Bengal Engineers,† was directed to join, and the works to be pushed on with vigour. A roadway was cleared for the guns, and a trench running parallel to the outer wall, about 100 yards from it, which was the foundation of another projected line of defence, was occupied. By the 11th a battery for eight 18-pounders was completed, and the guns were dragged up the ascent,

* It is a matter of considerable difficulty to get a number of natives to work at an heavy operation without noise; hence the advantage here of using elephants occasionally.

† This officer had come to Madras as one of Lord Cornwallis' aides-de-camp, but was permitted to serve with the Madras Engineers.

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1791 October

each by two elephants, with drag-ropes and men in addition. Before opening fire, Major Gowdie sent a summons to Sultán Khán, the Kiladár, informing him, with Spartan curtness, that he had orders from the Right Honourable Earl Cornwallis to take Nandidrug, and therefore that, if he was determined to hold out, he had better get his women and children out of the place. This not producing the desired effect, the battery opened on the 12th, and soon silenced all the guns in its direction, except one in flank from the south-east angle. Against this a traverse was thrown up in the night, and another battery constructed in advance for two 6-pounders and a 12-pounder, which with infinite labour was also placed in it. From this piece, by a few well-directed shots, Major Montagu managed to bring down the rampart at this angle, and along with it the mischievous gun. The flank companies of the 36th and 71st Regiments were now sent by Lord Cornwallis, who himself moved down with the army to Aruanapilli, on the 18th; and on the same evening the assault took place. An artillery officer, with some men and a small mortar, to be used as a petard to blow open the gate of the inner wall, accompanied the storming party. As they ascended, a heavy fire of jingals, muskets, and rockets was kept up, and masses of stone were rolled down from above. They soon, however, mounted both the breaches, and, following up the garrison closely, forced open with some difficulty the inner gate; and Captain Robertson, of the 71st Regiment, who led the assault with great gallantry and judgment, was master of the fort. The loss sustained during the siege amounted to 40 Europeans and 80 natives killed and wounded. Lieutenants T. Hill and P. Cranch, of the Bengal Artillery, were among the wounded. Lord Cornwallis, in a

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general order of the 19th, justly commented in high terms upon the meritorious conduct of the officers and men engaged. Of the artillery he said— 1791 October

"And he particularly desires that his warmest thanks may be presented to Major Montagu, for his successful efforts in bringing the artillery into the batteries, and for the ability with which it was afterwards served."

Some changes took place among the artillery officers about this time. Lieutenant-Fireworker Thomas Dowall being promoted to the acting rank of lieutenant,[1] and posted to the 1st Company, 2nd Battalion, *vice* Macpherson,[2] Captain Sampson was permitted[3] to go home for his health, affected by the wound he received at Sátiya Mangalam; but he died at Madras on the 5th of January, 1792.[4] Lieutenant Toppin was sent back[5] to Bengal for the same cause. Captain G. Howell, who came from Bengal in the end of the previous year, succeeded to the command of Captain Sampson's company, the 5th.[6] Lieutenant J. Horsburgh died at Bangalore on the 6th of September, and Captain James Smith also, at the same place, on the 24th of October. Two cadets of infantry just come out were appointed to do duty with the artillery—Mr. John Arthur Gore with Captain Horsford's company in August, and Mr. John Gordon in November with another,—but neither was permanently transferred. Lieutenant W. Shipton, who appears to have come out with the drafts from Bengal who arrived in camp in the end of November, was directed to do duty with the 5th Company, 2nd Battalion.

The next place which it was necessary, from its position and importance, to reduce, before the road to Seringapatam could be considered open, was Sávandrug. November

[1] Minutes of Council, September 9th.
[2] G. A. O. November 8th.
[3] G. A. O. September 23rd.
[4] G. A. O. January, 1792.
[5] G. A. O. September 22nd, 1791.
[6] G. O. September 23rd, 1791.

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1791 November The place had been partly reconnoitred on the retreat from Seringapatam in June; but to make a more complete examination, Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Ross, the chief engineer, was sent on the 30th of November with an escort of three regiments, a troop of cavalry, and some pioneers, and accompanied by the quarter-master general and Captain Beatson, of the Guides.

The fort was situated on a rocky height rising about 2600 feet, and was in two portions, each capable of independent defence, separated from one another by a deep chasm. The lower works included the whole, and cross walls and barriers were constructed wherever the ascent was practicable. Round the base of the rock, which was eight or ten miles in circumference, there was a dense forest of about five or six miles in depth, low and swampy, from which the noxious malaria was generated which gave the place its name of "the rock of death." It was Tippoo's hope that the English army, detained before this place, might fall by the plague. Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Ross, the chief engineer, made a careful survey of the place; and from his report it was determined to attack the north side.

December Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart was the officer to whom was entrusted the honourable task of taking Sávandrug. The force detached with him consisted of the 52nd and 72nd Regiments, the 14th and 26th Bengal, and the 6th Madras N.I. Covering this force, and guarding the different routes by which the enemy might assail the secondary base of operations at Bangalore, were posted three columns. Lieutenant-Colonel Cockerell, with two battalions of Madras N.I. and Captain Horsford's company of artillery, was at Sandakupa, eight miles north-east of Sávandrug; Captain Welch, with three battalions N.I., at Rahmanhalli, the same distance east-south-east,

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but with what company of artillery does not appear. Captain Alexander Read, with another detachment, was posted to the south-south-east, in the direction of Kán-kanelli. 1791 December

The battery equipment consisted of four 18 and four 12-pounder iron guns, with two howitzers, besides the battalion guns. Major Montagu was again selected to command this arm.* Lieutenants Tomkyns, Hardwicke, and Hind appear to have been detailed for duty on this service,[1] and probably some of the Madras Artillery also.

The first operation of the siege was to cut a road from the camp to the foot of the mountain. To give an idea of the exertions of the troops on this service, it is only necessary to say that in many places they were obliged to drag the battering guns over rocks of considerable height, and nearly perpendicular; and the labour of opening a road through a forest of bamboos † can only be known to those who are acquainted with the nature of that tree,‡ which, growing in clumps, even from the crevices of rocks, resists more than any other the axe and fire. It was accomplished, however, and on the 10th the first lodgment was made on the mountain. So many difficulties, however, had to be overcome, that it was not until the 17th that the first battery of three 18-pounders opened fire at 800 § yards and an elevation of 23°; another opened its fire the same day at 700 yards and a still greater elevation, from two 18 and three 12-pounders. In addition to the disadvantage of indirect fire, the strength of the walls, built of massive stones,

* See Note E in the appendix to this chapter.

† Closely set hedges of bamboo form an almost impenetrable barrier. Some of the forts in Oudh were furnished with them.

‡ A species of grass, botanically speaking.

§ Mackenzie. Dirom says 1000.

[1] "East India Military Calendar."

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1791 December

the lower tier riveted with iron bolts to the rock, proved too great. Two other batteries of two guns each were constructed within 250 yards; the 12-pounders were replaced by eighteens from the army, and their fire opened breaches in the outer and upper wall. The former was examined in open day by Lieutenant Macpherson, of the 76th Regiment, who commanded the pioneers. Major Montagu did not consider them sufficiently practicable, and kept up an incessant fire from all the batteries. On the 20th the breaches were considerably improved, and orders for the storm next day were issued. Lord Cornwallis and Sir William Medows came to witness the anticipated snccess. Lieut.-Colonel Nesbitt, second in command of the force, was to head the assaulting columns. These were distributed as follows:— Captain Gage, with the grenadiers of the 52nd and flank companies of the 76th Regiments, to gain the eastern hill to the left and cover the ascent of the main body; the Hon. Captain Monson, with the light company of the 52nd, to clear the works towards the western hill on the right; Captain Robertson, with the light companies of the 71st and 72nd Regiments, to clear the ground between the hills and then join Captain Gage; the main body, under Major Waters, consisting of the grenadiers of the 71st and 72nd, four battalion companies of two regiments left in camp, and four companies of native grenadiers, were to move up the hill steadily to the front of the European post.

Dense fogs from the low ground regularly cover up Sávandrug at night, and clear off after sunrise; they had been denser than usual on the day of the storm, and the batteries were not able to fire till nearly 10 o'clock, when the misty curtain rising showed the garrison descending to the breaches, and they opened upon them

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with grape, as the storming parties ascended, driving before them the enemy, who appeared panic-struck, and offered little or no resistance. So that, with a facility hardly to be expected, and with only one casualty throughout the whole of the operations, we gained possession of a fortress at that time reputed the strongest in southern, if not in all, India. In the general order issued next day, Lord Cornwallis again spoke of Major Montagu, to whom, he said, the greatest praise was due "for his laborious and successful exertions to overcome the infinite difficulties that occurred in placing the guns in the batteries, and for his professional skill in directing their fire." 1791 December

The forts of Rámgeri and Shivenageri were reduced by Captain Welch's detachment. Lieutenant-Fireworker E. Butler was one of the artillery officers with it. Utradrug was taken, after some resistance, on the 24th.* Lieutenants Tomkyns, Hardwicke, W. Shipton, and Fireworker Clement Brown were present with details of their companies. About twenty pieces of cannon and some stores were captured; and the place being in good repair, and otherwise favourably situated for the purpose, it was used during the subsequent operations as a depôt for the sick and wounded.

On the 12th of January Colonel Floyd, who had gone to Madras in August, to superintend the remounting of the cavalry, joined the army with the last convoy of stores and reinforcements. Two companies of Royal Artillery, which had arrived at Madras on the 10th of October, were with them. They had been formed at 1792 January

* A novel expedient of covering their retreat was resorted to by the garrison of this place. They let loose wild cattle upon the assailants, and some thirty Europeans and natives received contusions, more or less severe; but none were killed.—Mackenzie, ii. p. 170.

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1792 January home by volunteering[1] for service in the East Indies. The following officers were with them at this time :—

Major	...	...	David Scott.
Captain	...	...	Thomas Ross.
Lieutenant	...	...	Charles Terrot, Quarter-master.
,,	...	...	George L. Hamilton.
,,	...	...	Robert Clarke.
,,	...	...	James Hunter.
,,	...	...	William Nicolay.
,,	...	...	Charles Gold.

Their health suffered severely shortly after landing, from the severity on service of a climate they were not accustomed to. On reaching the army they were attached to the park. The battering train now consisted of 28 heavy guns, including eight already in Utradrug, with howitzers and mortars. Colonel Duff had exerted himself to the utmost to put the train into an efficient state for service, and particularly to remedy as far as possible the evil so greatly felt in the preceding operations, in the delay the heavy guns occasioned from slowness of movement and liability to accident. The bullocks were yoked four abreast, halving the length of the teams; the draught chains were carried back to the gun-carriage axletree bed. He cut off the projection from the limbers to which the trail was looped up, replacing this method by a pintle attached to the axletree bed; and he cut travelling trunnion holes in the cheeks of the carriages—all important improvements. The draught cattle too, now that the arrangements * of Lord Cornwallis had made all supplies plentiful, "were in such high order," to quote a letter of the time, "that they literally came in with the heavy guns on a gallop."

* It was to Captain Alexander Read, of the Madras N.I., that Lord Cornwallis was indebted for the proposal to collect, by means of brinjaries, supplies from all parts of India.—Dirom's Narrative, p. 18.

[1] "England's Artillerymen," p. 78.

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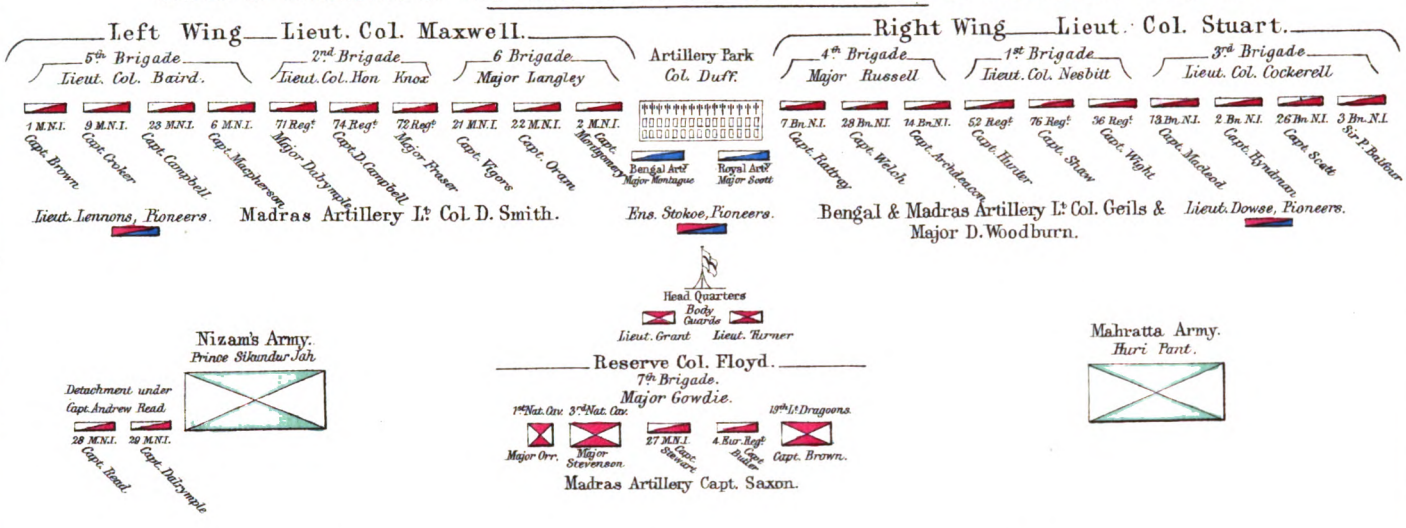
ORDER OF BRIGADING OF THE ARMY OF MYSORE UNDER COMMAND OF LORD CORNWALLIS, 1792.


Left Wing Lieut. Col. Maxwell.
5th Brigade Lieut. Col. Baird.
2nd Brigade Lieut. Col. Hon Knox
6 Brigade Major Langley
Artillery Park Col. Duff.
Right Wing Lieut. Col. Stuart.
4th Brigade Major Russell
1st Brigade Lieut. Col. Nesbitt
3rd Brigade Lieut. Col. Cockerell
1 M.N.I. Capt. Brown
9 M.N.I. Capt. Croker
23 M.N.I. Capt. Campbell
6 M.N.I. Capt. Macpherson
71 Regt. Major Dalrymple
74 Regt. Capt. D. Campbell
72 Regt. Major Fraser
21 M.N.I. Capt. Vigors
22 M.N.I. Capt. Oram
2 M.N.I. Capt. Montgomery
Bengal Artl. Major Montague
Royal Artl. Major Scott
7 Bn. N.I. Capt. Rattray
28 Bn. N.I. Capt. Welch
14 Bn. N.I. Capt. Archdeacon
52 Regt. Capt. Harder
76 Regt. Capt. Shaw
36 Regt. Capt. Wight
13 Bn. N.I. Capt. Macleod
2 Bn. N.I. Capt. Hyndman
26 Bn. N.I. Capt. Scott
3 Bn. N.I. Sir P. Balfour
Lieut. Lennons, Pioneers.
Madras Artillery Lt. Col. D. Smith.
Ens. Stokoe, Pioneers.
Bengal & Madras Artillery Lt. Col. Geils & Major D. Woodburn.
Lieut. Dowse, Pioneers.
Head Quarters Body Guards
Lieut. Grant
Lieut. Turner
Nizam's Army. Prince Sikundur Jah
Detachment under Capt. Andrew Read.
28 M.N.I. Capt. Read.
29 M.N.I. Capt. Dalrymple
Reserve Col. Floyd.
7th Brigade. Major Gowdie.
1st Nat. Cav.
3rd Nat. Cav.
19th Lt. Dragoons.
Major Orr.
Major Stevenson.
27 M.N.I. Capt. Stewart
4 Bar. Regt. Capt. Butler
Capt. Brown.
Madras Artillery Capt. Saxon.
Mahratta Army. Huri Pant.

COMMANDER IN CHIEF Rt. Hon. Lt. Gen. EARL CORNWALLIS.

Second in Command	Major Gen. Medows.
Secy. & Aide de Camp to Lt. Gen. Medows	Col. G. Harris.
Chief Engineer	Lieut. Col. Patrick Ross.
Aide de Camp to do.	Lieut. Colin Mackenzie.
Commanding Artillery	Col. Patrick Duff, Bn. Artv.

Distribution of Ordnance.

	Bronze					Iron			
	8 Prs Field	Howitzers 5 Ins.	Howitzers 5½ Ins.	Mortars 5½ Ins.	Total	24 Prs	18 Prs	12 Prs	Total
Right Wing	20	"	"	"	20	"	"	"	20
Left Wing	20	"	"	"	20	"	"	"	20
Reserve	4	"	"	"	4	"	"	"	4
Battering train	2	1	3	4	4	14	4	20	4	28	42
Total	46	1	3	4	4	58	4	20	4	28	86

From Major Dirons work.

London: Henry S. King & Co., 65, Cornhill.

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The contingent from Bombay was now again on its way, under Major-General R. Abercromby, the commander-in-chief of that presidency, to join the army. It consisted of four regiments of European and eight of native infantry, and four companies of artillery commanded by Major Richard Jones. The battering train with it consisted of one 10-inch and one 8-inch bronze howitzer, ten 18-pounder and four 12-pounder iron guns, and twenty 6-pounder bronze guns. 1792 February

The heavy guns not being required were left with a detachment of 300 men, by order of Lord Cornwallis, in batteries placed so as to command the Pudicherim pass, by which they had come up the western ghâts.

The confederate force sent by the Nizám having joined, the army moved on from Huliyadrug on the 1st of February. The army moved in three columns of route, with a regiment of cavalry, the body-guards of Lord Cornwallis and General Medows, and the infantry picquets coming on duty at the new ground, for an advance. The battering train, tumbrils, and heavy carriages on the main road formed the centre column. At a distance of one 100 yards or more, according to circumstances, on the pivot flank next the enemy, moved the infantry with field-pieces in the intervals. The column on the reverse flank was formed of the smaller store carts and private luggage carts, flanked by elephants, camels, bullocks, and the incongruous swarm of camp followers—men, women, and helpless children—which no severity of service can entirely divest an army in India of. *See* PLATE VII.

Between Huliyadrug and Seringapatam were established, as the army advanced, two posts to secure the communication with the rear, at Taghalli and Kárigod forts. On the 5th, the head of the army, wheeling to

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1792 February its right, took up a position in sight of Seringapatam, distant about eight miles; its right covered by the Kapilair hills (French Rocks), and the left resting on a low range which, running north and south, terminates in the Kárighát hill on the river Káveri, and which was the scene of action on the 15th of May previous. The stream Lokáni divided the camp, and running south fell into the same river below the Kárighát pagoda.

See PLATE VIII.

This brought the army opposite to Tippoo Sultán's fortified camp, on the north side of the river covering Seringapatam.

In the western extremity of an island in the river Káveri stands the fort, in shape a trapezium, the northern and longest face just a mile in extent. At the other end was a palace of the Sultán's, in a large garden named the Lál Bágh, and a large pettah named Sháh Ganjam, surrounded by a good mud wall; between which and the fort stood, on the northern branch of the river, another palace in a square enclosed garden, called the Daulat Bágh, and south of this an extensive bazar, reaching nearly to the southern branch. Various redoubts and batteries defended the island towards the river.

Without, both on the north and south of the Káveri, a "bound hedge" inclosed a large space of ground. That on the north was from a mile to half a mile in depth, and extended about three miles along the river. Six large redoubts on commanding positions formed a strong line of defence within this hedge. Here it was that Tippoo had formed his camp, his tent being close to the Sultán's redoubt, afterwards know as Sibbald's.

6th February On the morning of the 6th Lieut.-Colonel Maxwell was sent out to reconnoitre from a high hill in advance of the left, and General Medows to view the enemy's position in front of the right.

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On receiving their report, Lord Cornwallis issued his order for the attack, which he probably had determined on in outline beforehand, and which was as original in conception as it was bold in the execution. It was to make a night attack by infantry alone,* in three columns, on the Sultán's entrenched position, and passing over into the island with the fugitives, to establish a footing there before the morning. Nothing but the most perfect confidence in the officers and men he commanded, and in their reliance upon him as their commander, would have induced him to assail an enemy, strongly posted behind a chain of formidable redoubts, by night, with musket and bayonet alone—intending not only to drive them out of their ground, but also to seize upon a point of advantage in their rear, and in the heart of their natural stronghold. Nothing else in such a mode of attack could have anticipated the breaking up of the columns into small bodies, acting independently.† Nevertheless, the attempt—though it succeeded—was rash, and the failure of the right column showed upon what little points the fortunes of war may hang.

1792 6th February

PLATE VIII.

The right column, under Major-General Medows, consisted of the 36th and 76th Regiments, under Lieut.-Colonel Nesbit; the 3rd Brigade, under Lieut.-Colonel Cockerell; the 22nd Madras N.I., under Captain Oram; and Lieutenant Lennon's company of pioneers.

* Artillery to accompany, but without guns.

† "The troops of the second attack, after entering the enemy's lines, should turn to the left; the front divisions, however, of both the night and centre attacks should, after entering, advance nearly to the extent and depth of the enemy's camp before they return to either side, in order to make room for those that follow; and such parts of both divisions, as well as of the left division, as the commanding officers shall not think it necessary to keep in a compact body, will endeavour to mix with the fugitives, and pass over into the island with them."—G. O. February, 1792.

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1792 6th February Captain G. Howell, with two subalterns (one of whom was Lieutenant A. Hind[1]), 50 artillerymen, and 150 lascars, accompanied this column. The portion of the day's orders relative to the movements of this part of the force afterwards became matter of discussion. It was as follows:—

"If the right attack is made to the westward of Somarpet, the troops of that attack should, after entering the enemy's lines, turn to the left. But if the attack is made to the eastward of Somarpet, the troops should turn to the right, to dislodge the enemy from all their posts on the left of their position."

The centre column, with which Lord Cornwallis was present, was under Lieut.-Colonel Stuart, as second in command. It consisted of the 52nd, 71st, and 74th Regiments, under the Hon. Lieut.-Colonel Knox; the 4th Brigade, under Major Russell; the 2nd and 21st Madras N.I.; and Lieutenant Dowse's company of pioneers. Major Montagu and Lieutenant A. Buchan, Bengal; Captain Ross, Royal Artillery; and another subaltern officer, 50 men, and 150 lascars, accompanied it.

The left column, under Lieut.-Colonel Maxwell, consisted of the 72nd Regiment, the 5th Brigade, under Lieut.-Colonel David Baird, and Ensign Stokoe's company of pioneers. Two subalterns of artillery, 30 men, and 50 lascars accompanied. Its orders were to skirt the hills on the left, and passing over the battle ground of last year, to attack the great Kárighát hill, where Shaikh Ansár, one of the Sultán's generals, was posted.

A detail of engineer officers and a proportion of scaling ladders accompanied each division. The artillerymen were furnished with hammers and spikes, to spike if they could not use the enemy's guns.

The camp was left under charge of Colonel Duff. The

[1] "East India Military Calendar," i. 397.

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reserve was drawn up in front of the encampment; the artillerymen stood by their guns, and the quarter and rear-guards to their arms, till daylight. Great was the consternation among the native allies when they learned that the Governor-General intended to attack the Sultán's fortified camp without guns, and had gone himself to join the fight. 1792 6th February

About 8 o'clock, in silence, under a full moon, the three columns moved towards their several points of attack. General Medows, diverging a little further to the right than had been intended, found himself obliged to cross an irrigation canal that followed a tortuous course in the same direction, and thus considerable delay took place. On arriving at the hedge, he directed Captain Oram, with the 22nd Madras N.I., to keep on the outside of the hedge while the rest of the column made their way inside. Lieut.-Colonel Nesbitt, who led the column,* seeing a redoubt to his right conspicuous from its commanding position, and from the moonbeams shining full on the white dome of a mosque from which it derived its name, directed the head of the force against it. In and around this post were about 1500 men, prepared to resist, warned by the firing of the centre attack, already some time commenced; and the twelve guns that manned it were loaded with grape. After a severe struggle, in which four officers were killed, seven wounded, and about eighty men *hors de combat*, the redoubt was taken. Majors Dirom and Barry Close, of the adjutant-general's department, distinguished themselves. Two divisions of Lally's European Brigade, also stationed near this redoubt, were dispersed. General Medows then, leaving Captain Oram, with his battalion and four companies of the 36th Regiment, to hold the redoubt, moved on.

* Lord Cornwallis in his instruction laid down the order of march, and placed commanders of columns in the centre of each.

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1792 6th February

But, in addition to the previous detention in the advance, about two hours had been lost before the Eedgáh redoubt. The column moved on, guided by the heavy firing, which appeared to come from the river and near the Kárighát hill, till it came close to two more redoubts (Brown's post and Muhammad's), when suddenly the rattle of the musketry ceased, and the quiet of the night was only broken by an occasional cannon shot from one of them. Uncertain whether this betokened the failure or the success of the other divisions, and ignorant of their position, General Medows countermarched, recrossed the hedge, and proceeding in a direction parallel to it, reached the Kárighát hill about 3 o'clock a.m.*

The centre column was headed by a company of the 52nd Regiment; after which, led by Lieut.-Colonel Knox, came the flank companies of the 52nd, 71st, and the 74th, the rest of the 52nd, and a battalion of Bengal N.I. Lord Cornwallis, with Lieut.-Colonel Stuart, were next; and the other regiments followed, under their own leaders, closed up by two battalions of Madras N.I., under Major Langley. This column having halted for half an hour, to allow the other two to get sufficiently near, moved onward; and the head of the column forced the "bound hedge" about 11 o'clock, shortly after the attack by the left column had commenced. Forcing the enemy before them to give way, five of the leading companies made their way directly to the river, and crossed over into the island. The Hon. Captain Monson,

* Major Beatson, in the report, submitted subsequently to Lord Cornwallis, of the operations of the right column, and which is a very plain statement of the affair, says that from the point where it countermarched fifteen minutes would have sufficed to have brought it to where the centre column then was. But from the plan, which appears in the main correct, the distance intervening was about 2000 yards. Had the different columns been provided with signal rockets, their mutual co-operation might have been more effectually ensured.

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of the 52nd Regiment, was the senior officer. They passed under and close to the fort by a large bazar to the opposite bank of the island, destroying and dispersing several bodies, chiefly of horse, and finally taking post in a redoubt on the southern side. Lieut.-Colonel Knox, with two more companies, next crossed over into the island, and, diverging to the left, passed the Daulat Bágh and took possession of the eastern gate of the pettah; but they could not dislodge the enemy from it. As the batteries along the riverside now opened a heavy fire, and it appeared that more troops were attempting the passage, Lieut.-Colonel Knox judiciously ordered Captains Russell, 52nd; Robertson, 71st; and Wood, 74th Regiment, to attack and clear them from the rear, which was done most successfully. A third party of the 52nd Regiment, under Captain Hunter, with some of the 14th Bengal N.I., also crossed and captured the Daulat Bágh; but he could not hold it under a heavy fire from the fort, and he therefore repassed the river and rejoined the commander-in-chief about two hours before daylight. 1792 6th February

His situation at this time was critical. The Sultán's redoubt had been taken possession of, and was held by two companies of the 71st Regiment under Captain Sibbald, a company of the 28th Bengal N.I. with an officer, and fourteen Bengal artillerymen with two officers. The guns which were captured were not spiked,* but, by order of Major Montagu, were dismounted and the wheels rolled away to a distance. Captain Ross, R.A. was wounded while assisting in this duty. But the column was so broken up into detachments, that there only remained with Lord Cornwallis seven companies

* Some of Tippoo's guns were of French manufacture, and beautifully finished. Two of them were regimental trophies at Dumdum. They are now at Woolwich, where they were sent from Meerut in 1867.

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1792 6th February of the 74th Regiment and two battalions of Madras N.I., and with this force he had to sustain repeated and furious attacks for a considerable time. On being reinforced by Captain Hunter with a part of the 52nd and some Bengal N.I., they were again attacked by a large body of the enemy, who were again and again repulsed with the bayonet. When day broke, the commander-in-chief, to avoid the fire of the fort, retired towards the Pagoda hill, where he was joined by Major-General Medows.

The left column ascended the Kárighát hill, and forced the post without much difficulty. Leaving a party there, Colonel Maxwell proceeded to the Pagoda hill, a lower spur of the same range, and then down towards the river. They suffered some loss from the fire of the enemy, posted within the hedge and along the bank of the nullah which ran round the base of the hill. The first of the column to cross over were portions of the 71st and 72nd Regiments, led by Lieut.-Colonel Baird. The water was deep, many lives were lost, and the ammunition rendered useless; but the fire of the batteries, which had been opened on them, suddenly ceased in consequence of Colonel Knox's attack upon them in the rear. The rest of the column passed over by a ford nearly a mile lower down. Lieut.-Colonel Stuart joined Lieut.-Colonel Knox, and took command as senior officer, and, after examining his position and the locality, concentrated all the troops in the island and drew them up across it, his flanks resting on the river, and with the pettah in front and the Lál Bágh and Hydar Ali's mausoleum in his rear. It was now daylight, and Colonel Maxwell went to rejoin Lord Cornwallis, to whom the occupation of the island had been already reported. He sent a further reinforcement to the island, as the Sultán

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made another attempt to clear it of its invaders; and during the day, while Colonel Duff was moving the camp down to a more convenient and nearer position, the field-pieces were sent to Lieut.-Colonel Stuart. 1792 6th February

Meanwhile, the attacks upon the Sultán's redoubt were continued without intermission. Its garrison of 150 men was increased by Major Skelly, who had been sent to recall any of the troops in that quarter to join the reserve at the Kárighát hill, and could not make his way back; by Captain Montgomery, 2nd Madras N.I.; Captain Hunter, 52nd; Captain Maitland, 72nd; Lieutenants Irvine and Madden, both of the 52nd—the last four wounded, who had taken shelter within the place. Quarter-Master-Sergeant Howard, 28th Bengal N.I., also fortunately arrived with a supply of ammunition. The gorge of the redoubt was open towards the fort, thus exposing the garrison to its fire after daylight had appeared. An attempt was made to block up the entrance by throwing the carriage of a gun and some doolies across it, but the guns from the fort and two field-pieces behind some rocks within musket range, where the enemy were in force, soon cleared away the obstructions. The enemy then attempted an assault, but were driven back with loss. In this attack Lieutenant-Fireworker Alexander Buchan, to whose resources in the defence the garrison had been much indebted, was killed. This was about 10 o'clock. Soon after, Captain Sibbald was killed by a round shot, and Captain Hunter was wounded a second time; and Major Skelly then took command of the post. Fresh troops were sent to the rocks, and the attempts to regain the redoubt were renewed. Fortunately two bullocks loaded with musket ammunition strayed into the ditch, and were seized as a joyful prize by the gallant defenders, who were running very short. A for-

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1792 6th February midable assault was made by a body of cavalry, about 2000 strong, at 1 o'clock; and about 2 p.m. another, by the remains of Lally's European Brigade under M. Vigie. Both failed; and the garrison were at last left to rest and afford succour to the unfortunate wounded.

Thus terminated the struggle of a day and a night, in which, against formidable odds, Lord Cornwallis had accomplished what in the customary method of warfare would probably have taken several days to perform, "in a manner which covered the army with honour, and commanded its chief's warmest sentiments of admiration."[1]

The casualties among the artillery, besides the two officers already mentioned—Captain Ross and Lieutenant Buchan—are not exactly known; they were chiefly among the lascars, 8 of whom were killed and 22 wounded. The ordnance captured were 36 bronze 9-pounder and under guns, and 44 iron 24 to 4-pounder guns.

The enemy now evacuated the whole of the ground north of the river; and the commander-in-chief, having established his camp, commenced preparations for the siege. Lieut.-Colonel Stuart was placed in command of the troops in the island, with Major Dirom as his staff-officer. Captain Saxon, Madras Artillery, commanded the artillery there,[2] which consisted[3] of the following detail:—

	Subalterns.	R. C. O.	Rank and File.	Serangs.	Tindals.	Lascars.
From the park { Royal Artillery ...	2	3	20	...	...	...
From the park { Bengal Artillery ...	2	6	24	3	6	150
From the right wing: Bengal and Madras Artillery	1	3	20	1	2	25
From the left wing: Madras Artillery ...	1	3	24	1	2	25
Total ...	6	15	88	5	10	200

[1] G. O. February 7th, 1792.

[2] Artillery Line Orders, Feb. 12th [3] Ibid. Feb. 20th.

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The force from Bombay joined on the 16th, and on the 19th were sent across the river to invest the south-west side of the fort. After Lieutenant-Colonel Ross, the chief engineer, had examined the place, it was determined to attack the western side of the north face, which, having no outworks or flanking defences, was weaker; and it was contemplated, by damming up the northern branch of the river, to turn all the water into the south channel. The Mosque and Sibbald's redoubts were the two principal posts, maintained, the first as a picquet, the latter as a battery; also, if required, Lieutenant Hind, with 300 lascars, was employed to assist in making fascines; and the park, with furnaces for hot shot, were in readiness. The negotiations which Tippoo commenced to make upon the 8th did not interrupt the preparations or the approaches, which were pushed forward close to the river, as his only endeavour at first was to gain time. 1792 February

On the 24th of February, however, much to the disgust of the British soldiers, general orders announced that preliminaries of peace had been settled, and that hostilities were to cease. Two days afterwards the two sons of the Sultán were delivered up as hostages. During the negotiations which followed,* Lord Cornwallis was obliged again to place matters upon a hostile footing, and order the guns back into battery; but they were finally arranged, and on the 26th of March the army marched from Seringapatam. It reached Madras in the end of May.†

Transports were immediately taken up for the Bengal

* Major David Scott, Royal Artillery, died in camp, Feb. 29th.

† Almost the last order issued to the army was as follows:—

"St. Thomas' Mount, 2nd June, 1792.

"General Medows requests the company of all the officers to a ball on Monday evening."

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1792 February Artillery, who soon after embarked, and arrived at Fort William early in July.

Medals were awarded to the native portion of the troops who served in this war; and the Governor-General presented a donation of six months' batta to the army. The prize-money acquired at the capture of Bangalore and some of the other forts was increased for all ranks, by Lord Cornwallis and Sir William Medows generously giving up their quotas; and the Court of Directors liberally added another six months' batta, so that the shares were very considerable. They are given in the appendix to this chapter, Note F. In this place will also be found the names of the artillery and engineer officers of the three presidencies who served at any time during the war, as far as the means of tracing them out have been forthcoming. Those of the Royal Artillery are enumerated in the body of the chapter.

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2. MS. Diary of Lieutenant C. Wittit, Artillery.

3. Correspondence of the Marquis Cornwallis. 3 vols.

4. Sketch of the War with Tippoo Sultán, from 1789 to 1792. By Lieutenant R. Mackenzie. 1 vol. 4to. Calcutta, 1793.

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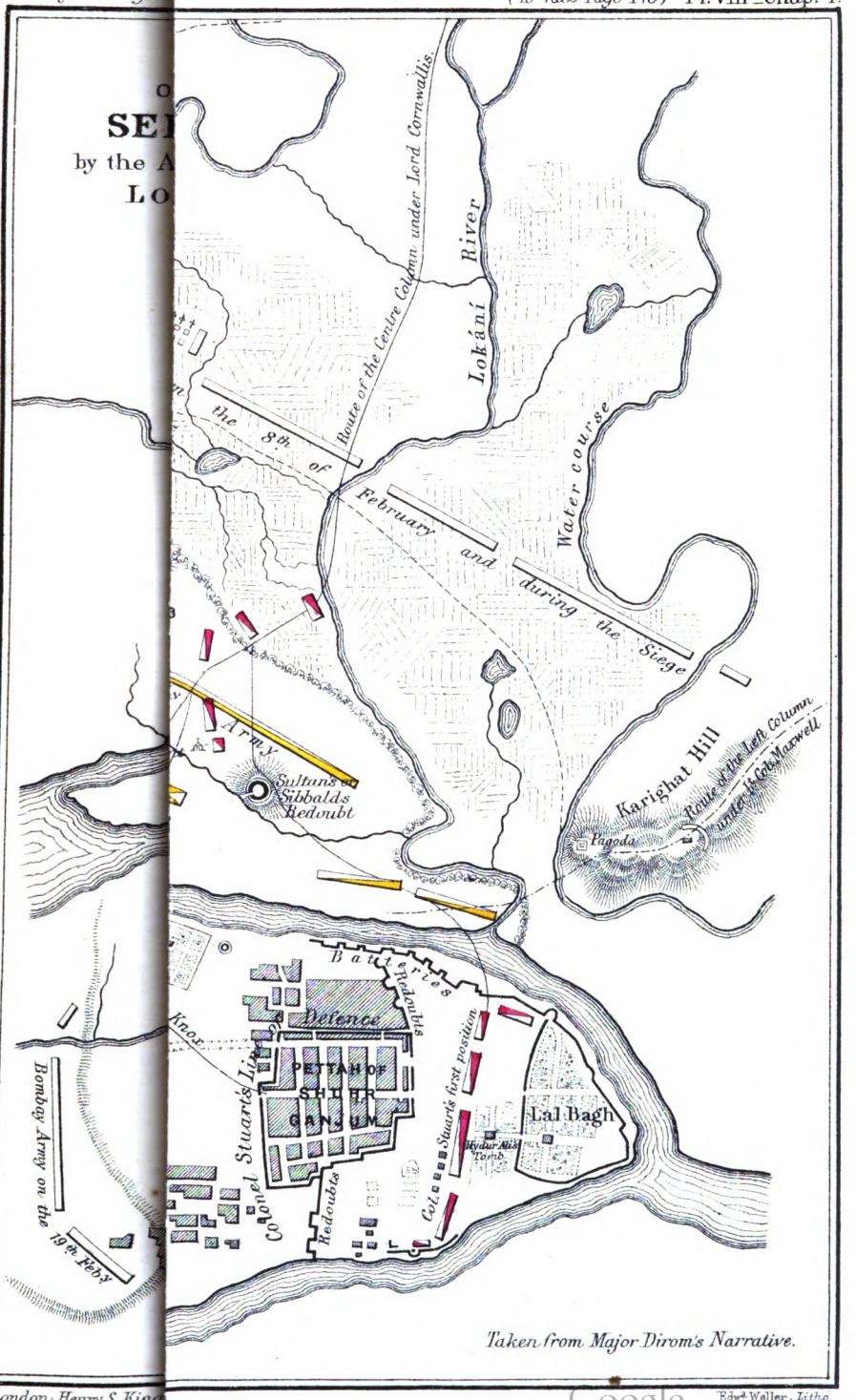

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APPENDIX.

Note A.—Names of officers of the Bengal Artillery who served in the second Mysore war.

Note B.—Names of officers of the Madras Artillery who served in the second Mysore war.

Note C.—Names of officers of the Bombay Artillery who served in the second Mysore war.

Note D.—Names of officers of the Engineers who served in second Mysore war.

Note E.—Relative to Colonel Smith and Major Montagu.

Note F.—Shares of prize-money and batta.

Note A.

Names of officers of the Bengal Artillery who served during the second Mysore war.

Posting. Co. Batt.	Rank.	Names.	Actions and Sieges in which present.
	Colonel	Patrick Duff	Bangalore, Seringapatam
	Lt.-Col.	Chas. R. Deare	Killed 13 September, 1790, at Sátiya Mangalam
	Major	David Woodburn	Bangalore, Seringapatam
2—2	Capt.-Mjr.	Edward Montagu	Bangalore, Rahmangarh, Nandidrug, Sávandrug, Seringapatam
5—2	Captain	George Howell	Seringapatam
5—1	„	John Barton	Bangalore
5—2	„	G. F. J. Sampson	Sátiya Mangalam. Died at Madras, 5 January, 1792, of effects of his wound
3—2	„	John Horsford	Bangalore, Arikera, Seringapatam
1—2	„	T. M. Elwood	Bangalore, Arikera
4—2	„	James Smith	Bangalore. Died here 24 October, 1791
5—2	„	Andrew Glass	Bangalore
4—2 } 5—2 }	Lieutenant	Charles Wittit	Bangalore
1—2	„	John Horsburgh	Sátiya Mangalam (wounded), Bangalore. Died here 6 Sept. 1791
2—2	„	Sebastian Nash	Died December, 1791
5—2	„	Thomas Hardwicke	Sátiya Mangalam (wounded), Arikera, Utradrug, Sávandrug
3—2	„	John Tomkyns	Bangalore, Uskáta, Utradrug, Nandidrug, Sávandrug, Seringapatam

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NOTE A (*continued*).

Posting. Co. Batt.	Rank.	Names.	Actions and Sieges in which present.
4—2	Lieutenant	Edward Clarke	Bangalore, Seringapatam
2—2	,,	Henry Douglas	Bangalore
2—2	,,	James R. Exshaw	Bangalore, Seringapatam
4—2 Off. Q.-M.	,,	Thomas Greene	Bangalore, Seringapatam
Qr.-Mr.	,,	Henry Balfour	Bangalore. Went to sea for his health July, 1791
5—1	,,	Alexander Hind	Bangalore, Sávandrug, Seringapatam
5—2	,,	Peter Cranch	Bangalore, Nandidrug (wounded), Seringapatam
5—2	,,	William Shipton	Utradrug
Adjt. Bd.-Mjr.	,,	George Johnstone	Bangalore
1—2	,,	Duncan Macpherson	Bangalore, Arikera. Died of his wounds 21 May, 1791
3—2	,,	John Nelly	Bangalore, Seringapatam
5—1	,,	John Toppin	Bangalore. Returned to Bengal for his health in September, 1791
2—2 Off. Adjt.	,,	John J. Briscoe	Bangalore, Seringapatam
5—2	,,	George Jones	Died at Negapatam 9 November, 1790
4—2 1—2	,,	Thomas Dowall	Bangalore
5—1	,,	Robert Tulloh	Bangalore
5—1	,,	Thomas Hill	Bangalore, Nandidrug (wounded)
5—2	,,	Andrew Dunn	Bangalore
5—2	,,	Alexander Macleod	Bangalore
1—2	,,	Edward W. Butler	Ramgheri, Shivnagheri, Utradrug, Seringapatam
1—2	,,	Alexander Buchan	Bangalore. Killed 7 Feb. 1792, at Seringapatam
2—2	,,	William Feade	Bangalore
	,,	John P. Drummond	Bangalore
1—2	,,	Clement Brown	Sátiya Mangalam, Bangalore, Utradrug
3—2	,,	William Winbolt	Sátiya Mangalam (wounded), Seringapatam
3—2	,,	Wm. Horatio Green	Bangalore, Seringapatam
4—2	,,	Arnold N. Matthews	Bangalore
	,,	William Fortnam	Joined the army in January, 1792. Present at Seringapatam

N.B.—Fireworkers not distinguished as such.

The list of actions and sieges has been compiled from original sources chiefly, but is not complete, except as to the siege of Bangalore.

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NOTE B.

Names of officers of the Madras Artillery who served during the second Mysore war. Taken from MS. order-books.

Batt.	Rank.	Names.	Remarks.
	Lieut.-Col.	Thomas Geils	
1	,,	Joseph Moorhouse	Killed March 7, 1791, at siege of Bangalore
2	,,	David Smith	
2	Captain	John Slipper	Killed March 17, 1791, at siege of Bangalore
	,,	Robt. Speediman (?)	Resigned the service June 22, 1790
	,,	George Saxon	
2	,,	Francis Mandeville	
	,,	Francis O'Brien	
	,,	Robert Bell	Commissary of Stores
2	,,	Tredway Clarke	
1	,,	Richard Howley	
2	,,	John Bell	
	,,	William B. Isaacke	
	,,	John A. Tanner	
	Lieutenant	Teerad Moore	
2	,,	William N. Conan	Adjutant 2nd Batt., and Major of Brigade. Wounded March 7, 1791, at siege of Bangalore, and died subsequently
2	,,	Thomas Hayes	Adjutant 2nd Batt., *vice* Conan. Appointed Inspector of Stores at Tanjore, G.G.O. Aug. 12, 1791
	,,	Richard Darke	
	,,	William Coupland	
	,,	Ulick Burke	
2	,,	Benjamin Friend	
	,,	Andrew Morris	Officiating Deputy Commissary of Stores
	,,	John Mackie	In charge of galloper guns
	,,	C. Donaldson	
	,,	Frederick Prescott	With galloper guns
	,,	John Neilson	Commissary of Stores
2	,,	Francis Geoghegan	
2	,,	Baker Fennell	
	,,	John W. Frieze	
	Lieut.-Fireworker	J. Taynton	
1	,,	Adam Mackay	
2	,,	Andrew MacIntyre	
1	,,	John Gourlay	
1	,,	Samuel Dalrymple	
2	,,	J. Crossdill	
	,,	Andrew Geils	
2	,,	James Hathway	
2	,,	John Bettson	
2	,,	James Russell	
2	,,	Matthew Daly	
1	,,	— Ferguson	

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Note C.

Names of officers of the Bombay Artillery who served during the second Mysore war. From various sources. N.B.—This list is an imperfect one.

Rank.	Name.
Major	Richard Jones.
Captain	John Baillie.
Lieutenant	Jacob Thompson.
„	James Eyles.
Lieutenant-Fireworker	Andrew G. Fisher.

Note D.

Names of officers of the corps of Engineers who served during the second Mysore war. From various sources.

BENGAL.

Captain	Alexander Kyd.	
Lieutenant ...	Patrick Stewart ...	Killed Feb. 6, 1792, at Seringapatam.
Ensign ...	Joseph Stokoe ...	Commanding a company of Pioneers.

MADRAS.

Lieutenant-Colonel	Patrick Ross.	
Major	George Maule.	
Captain	Elisha Trapaud ...	Sent to Tanjore in May, 1791.
„ ...	John Morris.	
„ ...	John Hogg. (?)	
Lieutenant ...	M. Russell ...	Adjutant of Engineers, *vice* Cree.
„ ...	W. C. Lennon ...	Commanding a company of Pioneers.
„ ...	Colin Mackenzie.	
„ ...	— McKernan. (?)	
Ensign	Alexander Cree ...	Adjutant of Engineers; died July, 1791.
„ ...	Alexander Cheese. (?)	
„ ...	W. Farquhar.	
„ ...	Thomas Wood.	
„ ...	James Lilyman Caldwell.	

BOMBAY.

Captain	William Henry Blachford.
Ensign	John Johnson.

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NOTE E.

It seems that Lieut.-Colonel D. Smith, commanding the 2nd Battalion Madras Artillery, expected the charge of the details employed against Sávandrug. A writer in the *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1798-1799 (he does not give his authority) explains the matter thus:—

"The following conversation took place between the deputy adjutant-general (Major Barry Close) and Major Montagu, as the latter passed head-quarters on his march: 'Lord C. has it in contemplation to give Colonel Smith the command of the artillery to be employed in Sávandrug, and he wishes to know if that circumstance will be any impediment to your exertions.' The major replied that he did not expect to take the command; that his only wish was to be employed, and that his lordship might rely on his utmost exertions for the public service under Smith. The deputy adjutant-general did not think that answer sufficiently explicit, and said, 'Lord C. wished to know whether Major M. could act with more effect, when independent of Colonel Smith, than when under his command?' The major answered that he could certainly carry a plan of his own into execution in the same time that it would require to suggest and explain it to another. The deputy adjutant-general, therefore, concluded that Major Montagu's real opinion was that he should prefer to conduct the business by himself, and informed him that his lordship was disposed to give Colonel Smith an opportunity of knocking down the walls of a place where he had been so long confined in a former war; but, as it might be attended with some risk to the service, he was at length determined to appoint Major Montagu to command and conduct the artillery against that important place, as the capture of it was absolutely necessary to the further progress of the campaign."—*Asiatic Annual Register*, vol. i. p. 64 of the biographical portion.

Colonel Smith neither forgot nor forgave this supersession, as will be seen in the omission of Colonel Montagu's name from despatches after the capture, in 1799, of Seringapatam.—Chapter VI.

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Note F.

Shares of prize-money and batta awarded to the army which served during the second Mysore war.

Rank.	Prize-Money.			12 Months' Batta.			Total.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Colonels	297	12	0	864	0	0	1161	12	0
Lieutenant-Colonels	248	0	0	720	0	0	968	0	0
Majors	198	8	0	536	0	0	734	8	0
Captains	78	2	0	230	8	0	308	10	0
Lieutenants ...	52	1	6	153	12	0	205	13	6
Ensigns	39	10	6	115	4	0	154	14	6
Sergeants ...	7	11	6	21	12	0	29	3	6
Corporals, Drummers, Privates ...	3	15	9	10	16	0	14	11	9
Subadars	7	0	6	20	11	6	27	12	0
Jemadars	3	10	3	10	5	9	13	16	0
Havildars ...	3	0	2	8	16	0	11	16	2
Naicks, Drummers, Privates ...	1	10	1	4	8	0	5	18	1

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CHAPTER V.

SECOND ROHILLA WAR, 1764—Constitution of the force employed —Battle of Bitaurah—Great loss caused by the misconduct of the cavalry—Dispersion of the Rohilla forces—OPERATIONS IN CEYLON, 1795-1804—Dutch possessions in Ceylon taken in 1796 by General Stuart—Medals given to the native troops—Bengal Artillery sent to Seringapatam—It returns—Ceylon transferred to the crown—Hostilities on the part of the natives in the interior—Kandi occupied—Capture of Hangárámkette—Terrible sickness among the troops—Danger of the garrison of Kandi—It is attacked—Abandoned by Major Davie, who lays down his arms—Massacre of the whole detachment—Gallant resistance of Fort Macdowall, Dámbádiniya, and Hángwelle—Islanders defeated in various places—Royal Artillery engaged —Peace restored—Bengal Artillery leaves the island—Complimented in Government orders.

SECOND ROHILLA WAR.

IN 1794, a force was for the second time employed against the Rohillas. The Nawáb, Faizullah Khán, had lately died, and the elder son had been seized and imprisoned by his younger brother, Gholám Muhammad. At the request of the Vazir of Oudh, a force under Major-General Sir Robert Abercromby, the commander-in-chief, was moved upon Rohilkhand. It was composed of the following troops:—

ARTILLERY.

Lieut.-Colonel Robert Bruce, 3rd Battalion, commanding.*
Major Christopher Green ,,
Lieutenant-Fireworker Clement Brown, Adjutant.

* He was commandant of the regiment at this time.

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ARTILLERY (*continued*).

B-16 R. A.	1st Company, 3rd Battalion	Captain T. Hardwicke.	
C-16 R. A.	2nd ,, 3rd ,,	Captain J. Mordaunt.	
7-23 R. A.	3rd ,, 3rd ,,	Captain J. McIntyre.	
Ordnance.	Bronze 6-pounder guns 22	These were in line with the infantry in action.	
	,, 12 ,, ,, ... 2		
	,, 4⅘-inch howitzers 2		
	Iron 18-pounder guns on transport carriages 2	In reserve.	

NATIVE CAVALRY.

2nd Regiment ... Captain Richard Ramsay.

INFANTRY.

Colonel J. Forbes commanding right and left Brigades.

Right Brigade—Lieut.-Colonel Charles Ware.

1st Battalion N.I.	...	Captain R. Baillie.
6th ,,	...	Captain P. Douglas.
12th ,,	...	Captain T. Edwards.
20th ,,	...	Captain J. Pearson.

Left Brigade—Lieut.-Colonel John McGowan.

10th Battalion N.I.	...	Captain W. Mackintosh.
14th ,,	...	Major H. Hyndman.
21st ,,	...	Major S. Knowles.
32nd ,,	...	Captain Sir P. Balfour.

Reserve—Colonel George Burrington.

2nd European Regiment		Lieut.-Colonel J. Macdonald.
13th Battalion N.I.	...	Captain Norman McLeod.
18th ,,	...	Major T. Bolton.

The army marched towards Bareilly, to the westward of which town the Rohilla forces were. On the 26th of October the line was under arms an hour before daylight, and the general rode forward to reconnoitre the enemy near the village of Bitaurah, since then and to the present day known by the name of Fatehganj,* eight miles distant from the town of Bareilly. The ground was covered here and there with patches of jungle, in which the enemy were partially concealed. Finding that their front extended beyond both his flanks, Sir R. Abercromby ordered up the reserve on the right; and it pressed

* The "village of victory."

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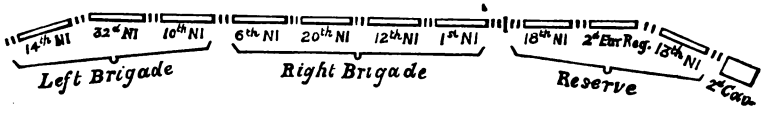
forward so fast that it left the guns behind.* The line when formed was arranged as here shown, both flanks thrown back.



DISPOSITION OF THE DIFFERENT REGIMENTS AT THE BATTLE OF BITAURAH, 26TH OCTOBER, 1794.

The enemy advanced to attack covered by the jungle, and orders were sent to Captain Ramsay to charge. Either mistaking his instructions or allowing himself to become confused, he, after advancing, October wheeled by "divisions" to the left, presenting his flank to the enemy, an error at once rendered fatal by their cavalry charging and completely routing them. Driven back upon the right of the line, they broke through the regiments and hampered the guns. The latter kept up as well as they could a fire of grape, which did considerable execution, though it could not stay the tide of flight or of attack. Captain Mordaunt, Lieutenant Baker and Lieutenant-Fireworker Tilfer, one sergeant, two gunners, twenty matrosses, and twenty lascars, all of the 2nd Company, were killed. The three regiments on this flank suffered in like manner. Colonel Burrington, Captain Norman Macleod, with four officers of the 13th N.I., Major Bolton of the 18th N.I., and some of the 2nd European Regiment, were killed, and many others wounded. But the rest of the line stood firm, the exertions of the officers restored order upon the right, and Lieutenants Gahan and Richardson, of the cavalry, rallying some of their men, returned into action.†

* See Note B in the appendix to this chapter.

† Captain Ramsay left the field and the country, without waiting for an inquiry, so the cause of his blunder was never publicly known.

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1794 October

Meantime, the enemy's line was close at hand, formed in wedges rather than columns. As they came on, they scattered, and advancing with spears, matchlocks, and swords, rushed to close quarters and disputed the ground gallantly, even seizing the bayonet with the left hand while they cut at the soldiers with their tulwárs. It says well for the discipline of the regiments that under such determined attacks the confusion which occurred on the right was reduced into order. The left of the line was also attacked; but the steady front shown by Major Hyndman's battalion, and the fire of the guns, repulsed them in every attempt. The centre suffered very slightly. At last, courage gave way to discipline, and the Rohillas fled. They could not face our troops again, and sued for peace.

In this, as in the first Rohilla campaign, the sum allotted for distribution by the Wazir of Oudh was a large one, amounting to eleven lákh of rupees, besides one for the families of the officers who fell. It is not necessary to give the scale in full detail; it was arranged by the junior auditor-general at the rate of 328 days batta of each rank, which made the share of a lieutenant-fireworker amount to 1968, and of a gunner to 109.*

A monument still in existence, on the right of the road from Rámpur to Bareilly, points out where this action was fought, and records the names of the fourteen British officers who fell there.

The editor of the "East India Military Calendar" says (iii. 300) that he entered the French service, and was in the commissariat department of Bonaparte's army. Yet he had done good service under General Goddard. It is most probable that, as was the case at Chiliánwála, the ground was not adapted for his arm, but that was no reason that he should have been taken, *en flagrant délit*, with his flank to the enemy. The ground did not beat them.

* These were calculated in *Lucknow* rupees, which were less in value than the sicca, the ordinarily current rupee of the Company.

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Operations in Ceylon.

The first English expedition to Ceylon was in 1782, 1782
when a force under Sir Hector Munro, co-operating with a fleet under Sir Edward Hughes, was sent by Lord Macartney from Madras, to capture Trincomalee from the Dutch. This port was restored next year on peace being concluded in Europe. In 1795, Holland was united 1795
with the republic of France against England, and the Government of Fort St. George despatched a force under General Stuart to reduce the Dutch possessions in the island. Along with this force were the following companies of Bengal Artillery:—5th Company, 1st Battalion, A-16 R. A.
Captain John Barton, Lieutenants Richard Humphreys and William Winbolt, and two companies of gun lascars. This company left Bengal in September, 1795, and was soon followed by the 5th Company, 2nd Battalion, Captain Edward Clarke and Lieut.-Fireworker Edward Graham.* 4-23 R. A.

General Stuart landed about two miles from Trincomalee about the end of December, and commenced his operations. The troops suffered much from the climate and fatigue; and during the siege a body of Malays, in the Dutch service, got into one of the batteries unperceived and spiked the guns, and killed several of the artillerymen before they were repulsed. After a siege of three weeks, and as preparations for a storm were about to be made, the fort capitulated.

From Trincomalee, after a short rest, General Stuart marched along the coast northward to Jaffna, which 1796
surrendered on being summoned, and thence in February to Negombo,† which likewise made no resistance. The

* See note C, in the appendix to this chapter.

† The Swiss Regiment de Meuron, which was part of the Dutch force in this part of the island, transferred themselves at this time to the English service, and were for some years after in the pay of the British Government.

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1796 next place was Colombo, a strong place, and well garrisoned. General Stuart marched against it with three regiments of the line, three battalions of sepoys, and part of the artillery. The road lying all the way through jungle intersected by ravines and rapid streams, the bridge of which had been broken down, could easily have been defended. But no opposition was offered; even a fort on the left bank of the Kalâneganga, four miles from Colombo, the natural advantage of which might have made almost any resistance successful, was abandoned by its garrison. The general, incredulous of such weakness or cowardice, advanced with caution. A party of Malays, under command of Colonel Raymond, a Frenchman in the Dutch service thoroughly ashamed of his associates, attacked the English, but were repulsed with the loss of their leader; and with this nominal effort resistance ended. In a few days, Van Angelbeck, the governor, surrendered, by a private capitulation, the capital of the Dutch possessions in Ceylon (Galle), and the other fortresses were all shortly given up.

Medals were granted by the Indian Government to the native troops employed, probably more as a reward for their embarking on foreign service, than for the arduousness of its nature.

The two companies of Bengal Artillery remained in Ceylon for some years longer. The 5th Company, 2nd Battalion was sent to Madras, and took part in the siege of Seringapatam in 1799; returning after this was over to the island, which in the same year was transferred from the Madras presidency and control of the East India Company to the direct administration of the Crown. The Hon. Frederick North was then governor of the British settlements lying along the coast. The interior of the island was still the territory

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of the King of Kandi, whose distrust of the English was used by the chief Adigár, Pilame Talave, to further his own ambitious views. In the month of June, 1802, their hostile preparations being completed along the frontier, the first open act of violence was committed by the natives; and after vain efforts to obtain compensation, Mr. North issued a proclamation of war, on the 29th of January, 1803—two days after which Major-General Hay Macdowall, commanding the forces in Ceylon, left Colombo with a column consisting of 500 of the 51st, detachments of the 19th and 53rd Regiments, Colonel Ramsay's regiment of native infantry, 100 Malays, the 5th Company, 2nd Battalion, and some Madras Artillery, with lascars and pioneers. Another force, under Lieut.-Colonel Barbut, marched from Trincomalee, consisting of 500 men from the 19th Regiment, and 600 from the Malay Regiment, with a company of artillery, ten 5-pounders, and two howitzers. After some opposition, both columns met at the capital, Kandi which was evacuated, according to the usual tactics of the Cingalese when attacked. Fearing to face their foes in open fight, they betook themselves to the forest jungle, where with impunity they murdered all the soldiers and coolies they could lay hands upon. The approach of the sickly season, pregnant with jungle fever, began to tell upon the health of the men. General Macdowall, trusting in the professions of the chief Adigár, returned to Colombo with a part of his force, leaving Colonel Barbut in command at Kandi. In March Lieut.-Colonel Baillie attacked Hangárámkette,* about eighteen miles from Kandi,

1802

March

* This place was situated in a position very difficult of access; and Mr. Pridham states (i. 157) that this expedition was undertaken at the treacherous instigation of Pilame Talave, who considerately pointed out the best (*i.e.* worst) routes to be followed, and requested (which was

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1803 March where the king had a palace, which was burnt. In this affair Lieutenant Frederick Hankey, 19th Regiment, brigade-major of the king's troops, and Lieutenant Edward Graham, Bengal Artillery, were wounded severely.

The king had been nominally deposed, and a relative, Mutu Swámi, installed in his room at Kandi by the English; but British faith was not kept with him. General Macdowall, in March, having returned to Kandi, actually concluded a treaty by which the chief power was promised to the doubly faithless Adigár, and Mutu Swámi was to be his pensioner, with nominal sovereignty in the northern part of the island. Thus, in treacherous advances on the one hand, and weak-minded concessions on the other, the weeks wore on, while the English troops were becoming more prostrated by disease, and the Kandian troops concealed in their jungles were investing the capital more surely. The general again returned to Colombo for a third time, having suffered from the prevailing fever. Colonel Barbut and the next senior officer, Major Blair, were both obliged to leave Kandi from the same cause, and died at Colombo. Major Adam Davie, of the Malay corps, was left in command at Kandi with 200 of the 19th Regiment, 500 Malays, and part of the 5th Company, 1st Battalion of Artillery, under Capt.-Lieutenant R. Humphreys; but scarcely a quarter of the

June European soldiers were capable of duty, and deaths were frequent.

The authorities at Colombo, alarmed for the safety of the Kandi garrison, now determined to withdraw it. But the communication was cut off, and, on the 24th of June, the place was attacked by large bodies of the enemy; and Major Davie, urged thereto by some of his officers, gave it

done) that the attacking force might be sent in two columns. If this be true, it is a curious instance of infatuation.

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up under promise of being allowed to withdraw his force to Trincomalee, leaving his sick (about 120 European soldiers) in hospital to the care of an enemy who knew not how, or did not dare, to show mercy. The misguided garrison, now only numbering about 14 European officers, 20 men, 250 Malays, and 140 gun lascars, only got as far as Wátipologa, three miles, on the banks of the Máhávilaganga, now a deep and rapid river, swollen with the rain. The next day, the 25th, was spent in waiting for boats, and in treaty with the enemy, who insisted upon the surrender of the unfortunate Mutu Swámi. This demand was basely acceded to. Another day appeared, but not the boats promised by Adigár. The natives deserted in numbers; and then came an order to lay down arms, which Major Davie, as unfortunate as unprincipled, complied with. By twos and threes the hapless victims were taken into a ravine hard by and there massacred. Captain Humphreys, with an assistant surgeon, managed to roll down the steep where the bodies were thrown, but being discovered a day or two afterwards were detained as prisoners, and subsequently executed by order of the king, on the occasion of some festival. Of the Europeans, besides the commander, only one man of the 19th Regiment escaped. He, though wounded, managed to swim across the river; and, after a series of sufferings and adventures in the forests, fell in with a party of friends. Major Davie is believed to have lived for thirteen years afterwards, though dead to his country and his faith. 1803 June

There is little to choose between in the results of imbecility and those of rank treachery. If Major Davie hid his blasted reputation, and ended in 1816 the career of a renegade among the natives of the interior of the island, his case may excite pity. But he sacrificed his detachment in the endeavour to save the life which he

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1803 should have laid down within the walls he was appointed to defend. Unfortunately, he does not appear to have been, at first, alone in his ill-advised determination. The well-known cowardice of the Kandians might have suggested resistance, even in the debilitated state of the garrison; but no colouring can hide the shame of our having abandoned the helpless sick, and given up the king we had engaged to support, to certain death.*

At Fort Macdowall, where Captain Madge, 19th Regiment, commanded, and at Dámbádiniya, very small forces successfully resisted the enemy. Thirty Europeans and 50 Malays, most of the former unable to fight, constituted the garrison of the former place; 14 convalescents of the 19th Regiment, 22 invalid Malays, and 60 sepoys, Lieutenant Nixon, and Ensigns Grant and Smellie, were the garrison of Dámbádiniya: greater odds than at Kandi. They received the thanks of the Governor. Martial law was proclaimed, and, reinforcements having arrived from Bengal, as well as a company of Royal Artillery, active operations were at once commenced. The post of Hángwelle being attacked by a force commanded by the king in person, Captain Pollock, of H.M.'s. 51st, was sent to relieve Lieutenant Mercer, who had already twice—on the 3rd and 4th of September—

* There is naturally much uncertainty as to the exact course of events after the evacuation of Kandi, being, with the exception of the man of the 19th, derived from natives. The number of survivors also has been differently stated. Mr. Pridham states that one of the sick men in hospital escaped, in a remarkable manner, when the rest were massacred, and was discovered on the reoccupation of Kandi in 1805. M. le Comte de Noé also makes the following statement, for the latter part of which, however, I have not been able to trace any foundation. "Il n'y eut d'épargné que le Major Davy, qui commandoit, et le capitaine d'artillerie Humphrey, ainsi qu'un ou deux sergens de cette arme que les Kandyens conservèrent, les deux premiers pour leur servir de trophée de leur victoire, et les deux derniers pour leur être utile dans la confection de la poudre à canon."

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repulsed his assailants. They were again defeated on 1803
the 6th; and Captain Pollock, being reinforced, carried the war into the enemy's territory, and on the 12th entirely defeated them at Roanelle, recovering three light 6-pounders, one 3-pounder, and two small mortars, and 120 of the firelocks formerly belonging to the murdered soldiers. Captain E. V. Worsley, R.A.,* commanded a detachment of Royal Artillery with this force. Another small party of the same corps, which had arrived in the Hámbangtotte roads in H.M.'s frigate *Wilhelmine*, took part in the defence of that place, under Ensign Prendergast, till relieved by a force under Captain Herbert Beavor. Other detachments in different parts of the island were equally successful, and peace was again restored by the early part of 1804. As there were three 1804
companies of Royal Artillery in Ceylon at this time, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Desbrisay,† the two companies of Bengal Artillery were sent back to their presidency. The 5th Company of the 1st, and the 5th Company of the 2nd Battalion, accordingly left Ceylon in October. On their departure the following order was issued:—

"The Governor cannot allow Captain Edward Clarke, of the Bengal Artillery, to leave this island with the detachment under his command, without expressing his thanks to that officer for the useful and active services which he has rendered to the Government of Ceylon, during a period of more than eight years. He requests Captain Clarke to communicate to the non-commissioned officers and privates of the artillery, and of the detachment of lascars, his approbation of their conduct, and his wishes for their future prosperity."

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* "England's Artillerymen," p. 79.

† Commanded by Captains R. E. H. Rogers, P. W. Colebrooke, and E. V. Worsley.

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APPENDIX.

Note A.—Names of Artillery officers who served in the second Rohilla campaign.

Note B.—Delay in bringing guns into action at the battle of Bitaurah.

Note C.—Regarding Artillery officers who served in Ceylon.

NOTE A.

Officers of the Bengal Artillery who served during the second Rohilla war:—

Rank.	Name.	Co.	Batt.	
Lieutenant-Colonel	Robert Bruce	...	3	
Major	Christopher Green	...	3	
Captain	John MacIntyre	3	3	
,,	John Mordaunt	2	3	Killed
,,	Thomas Hardwicke	1	3	
Lieutenant	William Shipton	3	3	
,,	Alexander Watkins	1	3	
,,	Foster Maynard *	3	3	
,,	Edward Baker	2	3	Killed
,,	Andrew Dunn	2	3	
,,	Alexander Macleod	1	3	
Lieut.-Fireworker	Clement Brown	1	3	Adjutant
,,	William Hopper	2	3	
,,	James Thomas Tilfer	2	3	Killed

* There is a doubt respecting this officer having been present. There were only twelve subalterns, not including the adjutant, of whom seven were with the army effective; so that he must have been one of the officers referred to in the next note as absent, sick, or on command.

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Note B.

The delay which occurred on the 26th of October, 1794, in bringing up the guns into action, and the difficulty there was in working them, caused Lieut.-Colonel Bruce to convene a committee of the senior artillery officers at Bareilly on the 24th December. It consisted of himself as president, and Major C. Green, Captains J. MacIntyre, W. Rattray, and T. Hardwicke as members. Its object was to bring to notice that gun details of men and lascars were fixed too low by regulation, and, when diminished by the casualties of service, were quite insufficient to do the work required of them.

The ordnance and carriages on that occasion had been:—

	In the intervals of corps in the line.	Spare in the park.
Iron 18-pounder guns on transport carriages ...	...	2
Bronze 12-pounder guns on field carriages ...	2	...
Bronze 4⅘ howitzers on field carriages	2	...
Bronze 6-pounder guns on field carriages	22	...
Ammunition tumbrils	28	30
Artificers' carts	...	8
Spare carriages	...	9

And the *personnel* for their service was:—

	European Artillerymen.	Serangs.	Tindals.	Lascars.
22 6-pounder guns with tumbrils	108	...	22	220
2 12-pounder guns (From these two 15 European artillerymen and 32 lascars were sent to take the place of the killed and wounded)	24	1	3	58
2 4⅘-in. howitzers	17	1	2	30
With the park	...	2	7	206
Employed, sick, on command in the field at Lucknow and in Fort William	45	6	6	99
Total	194	10	40	613

that is, not quite five artillerymen to each 6-pounder gun,

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instead of nine,* the four others being taken from the lascars. But the proper complement of lascars to drag the gun was one tindal and fourteen; there were actually present only one tindal and ten to each piece, five of whom had to act in a double character. The committee also brought to the notice of Government the deficiency of officers. On this campaign five subalterns were absent: two by sickness, two by promotion, and one on command. Casualties in the action reduced the complement of officers to nearly one-half of the regular number, and at the beginning of it some brigades had none at all.

Note C.

Officers of the Bengal Artillery who served in Ceylon from 1795 till 1804. From MS. Gen. Orders and Muster-Rolls.

5th Company, 1st Battalion (ordered on service by G. O. 12th August, 1795).

Captain (Brevet-Major) J. Barton ...	Promoted, and returned to Bengal in 1799.
Captain-Lieutenant H. Balfour ...	Posted G. O. 22nd September, 1796. To 1st Company, 3rd Battalion, G. O. 16th June, 1797.
„ J. R. Exshaw ...	Posted G. O. 6th May, 1799. Date of return not known.
Lieutenant R. Humphreys	Murdered at Kandi, September (?), 1803.
„ W. Winbolt ... }	Date of return not known.
Fireworker H. Stark ... }	
„ E. Graham	Doing duty. Posted to 5th Company, 2nd Battalion, G. O. 22nd September, 1796.

5th Company, 2nd Battalion (ordered on service by G. O. 19th September, 1796).

Captain E. Clarke.	
Captain-Lieutenant J. Collier ...	On sick leave from the end of 1797. Invalided home, and died September, 1801.
Lieutenant R. Hetzler	Posted on promotion to 4th Company, 3rd Battalion, and returned to Bengal in Nov., 1802.
„ R. Douglas	Died on service in Mysore, 5th September, 1799.

* The regular number laid down was seven, viz.: 1, command; 2, spunge; 3, load; 4, prime; 5, fire; 6, traverse; 7, touchman; but two others were employed—8, to remain at the limber; 9, to carry the linstock and match. The committee recommended a detail of European artillerymen for the first eight duties. An increase was soon after sanctioned, by the ill-judged method of mixing up natives and Europeans in the same detachment.—See chapter ii. "Organization and Equipment."

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CHAPTER VI.

THIRD MYSORE WAR, 1799—Bengal Artillery employed—Assembly of the army at Vellore—Its advance—Arrival before Seringapatam—Attack on the enemy's posts south of the river—Point of attack selected—Position of the camp—Enfilade batteries across the river—Batteries on the south side—Attack on the Bombay divisions—Enemy's outer entrenchments carried—Positions secured—Breaching commenced—Lieut.-Colonel E. Montagu wounded—His death—Preparations for assault—Storm and capture of Seringapatam—Artillery casualties during the siege—Subsequent disposal of companies—Prize-money granted—1st Company, 2nd Battalion thanked in regimental orders—EXPEDITION TO EGYPT, 1801-1802—Remarks—Troops ordered on service from Bengal—Foot Artillery—Horse Artillery—General Baird takes command—Force lands at Kosseir—Its composition—March from Kosseir through the desert—Arrangements for traversing it—Up the Nile—Arrival at Cairo—Advance to Rosetta—Peace of Amiens—Army returns to India—General order on arrival of the Bengal troops in Calcutta.

THIRD MYSORE WAR.

ALTHOUGH the Madras army was by no means prepared for war when the Earl of Mornington came out to India as Governor-General in May, 1798, no sooner had he determined on hostilities with Tippoo than his energy and resources rapidly lessened, although they could not entirely do away with, difficulties. Each presidency contributed its quota to the force destined for the final subjection of Mysore, and it was placed under command of Lieut.-General George Harris, who, as military secretary to Sir William Medows, had served throughout the previous campaign in that country.

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The Bengal Artillery constituting part of the force were as follows:—

Lieut.-Colonel E. Montagu, commanding.
Lieutenant R. Brown, quarter-master.
Lieutenant J. P. Drummond, adjutant.

1-22 R. A.	3rd Company, 1st Battalion	... ...	Captain W. Dunn.
4-23 R. A.	5th Company, 2nd Battalion	... ...	Captain Edward Clarke.
B-16 R. A.	1st Company, 3rd Battalion	... ...	Captain John Tomkyns.
C-16 R. A.	2nd Company, 3rd Battalion	... ...	Captain A. Glass.

Of these companies, only two came direct from Bengal. Captain Dunn's had been sent to Ganjam in the
1798 previous year, thence to Hyderabad, where it was employed with the force under Lieut.-Colonel Roberts in disarming, on the 22nd of October, the French officers attached to the native infantry they had disciplined in the service of the Nizám.* Captain Clarke's company was recalled from Ceylon, and the two others sailed from Calcutta under command of Lieut.-Colonel Montagu,
1799 and reached Madras in January, 1799.

The immobility of the army from the want of carriage was, as before, a serious difficulty; and though barely surmounted in time, it was at an enormous cost, which forced upon Government the question of keeping up a permanent establishment, and thus becoming more independent in this respect.

January The army assembled at Vellore in January, and was
February put in motion on the 11th of February. Its constitution
See PLATE X. and brigading are given in the accompanying table.

Of the Madras Artillery, the head-quarters and part of the 1st and 2nd Battalions (now the 17th and 20th Brigades R.A.) were ordered on service. Colonel David Smith (Madras) commanded the whole of that arm.

* A force amounting to 14,000 men, with 40 pieces of ordnance. This was effected without a single casualty, in a manner that earned great credit for the troops and those who handled them on this occasion.

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ORDER OF BRIGADING OF THE ARMY OF MYSORE UNDER COMMAND OF LIEUT. GEN. HARRIS.

Cavalry Major Gen. John Floyd.

2nd Brigade Col. J. Pater: 2nd Reg. N.I. 25th L.Dragoons 5th Reg. N.I.

1st Brigade Col. Stevenson: 4th Reg. N.I. 19th L.Dragoons 7th Reg. N.C.

Corps of Guides.

Major J. Campbell.

Left Wing_Major Gen. Popham.

4th Brigde Lieut. Col. John Gardiner: 1 Bat. B.V.A. | 8 Bat. B.V.A. | 2 Bat. B.V.A. | 73rd Reg.

2nd Brigde Col. Sherbrooke: Regt de Meuron. | 2 Bat. 9 M.N.I. | 2 Bat. 5 M.N.I.

6th Brde Lt. Col. Scott: 2 Bat. 3 M.N.I. | 2 Bat. 7 M.N.I. | 1 Bat. 8 M.N.I.

Lieut. Col. C. Saxon M.A. Commg Artly. Left Wing.

Right Wing_Major Gen. Bridges.

5th Brigde Col. G. Roberts: 74th Reg. | Scotch Brde | 12th Reg.

1st Brigde Major Gen. D. Baird: 1 Bat. 6 M.N.I. | 1 Bat. 12 M.N.I.

3rd Brigade Col. F. Gowdie: 3 1 Bat. 1 M.N.I.

Lieut. Col. F. Montagu B.A. Commg Artly. Right Wing.

Colonel D. Smith M.A. Commg Artillery.

Adjutant General	Lieut. Col. B. Close, M.N.I.
Quarter Master General	Lieut. Col. Richardson
Surveyor General	Major Alex. Beatson M.N.I.
Judge Advocate General	Capt. J. Leith M.N.I.
Commissary General of Stores	Lieut. Col. Chas Carlisle, M.A.
Deputy ..... d.o	Capt. Lieut. F. Prescott, M.A.
Assistant ..... d.o	Capt. Lieut. J.W. Freese, M.A.
Commy Gen. Stores Nizam's Detach.t	Lieut. M. Beauman, M.A.
Brigade Major Artillery	Lieut. R. Charlton, M.A.
Aide de Camp, Col. Smith	Lieut. Webb Stone, M.A.
Chief Engineer	Col. Wm Gent, M.E.

Nizam's Infantry_Capt. J. Malcolm.

Cap. Phillips. | Lt Tomson. | Lt Baynes. | Cap. M. Schecy.

Nizam's Detachment_Col. Hon. A. Wellesley.

Lieut. Col. T. Dalrymple Commg Compys troops.

2nd Brigde Lieut. Col. Bowser: 2 Bat. 2 M.N.I. | 2 Bat. 4 M.N.I. | 1 Bat. 9 M.N.I.

1st Brigde Lieut. Col. Grant: 33rd Reg. | 2 Bat. 11 M.N.I. | 2 Bat. 10 B.N.I. | 1 Bat. 10 B.N.I.

Capt. Lieut. A. Caldwell B.A. Commg Artly

Capt. W. Dunn, B.A. Commg Artly

Major Richd Howley, M.A. Commg Artillery.

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The force was the best equipped that had as yet been assembled for service in India, its strength in cavalry was good, and General Harris was assisted by an able and well-chosen staff. The battering train consisted of two 24, thirty 18, and eight 12-pounder iron guns, with two 8-inch howitzers. The field-pieces consisted of two 18, eight 12, and thirty-eight 6-pounders, together with eight 3-pounder gallopers and four bronze 5½-inch howitzers, attached to the cavalry.* 1799

The force from Bombay, above 6000 men, were assembled at Cannanore under Lieut.-General James Stuart, and advanced as far as Sidapur. It had only field ordnance with it, and the artillery was commanded by Lieut.-Colonel George A. Lawman. On the 6th of March Tippoo, having suddenly moved from his position east of Seringapatam, marched quickly towards the Bombay force, and attacked the right brigade, which was posted in advance at Sidasír. The attack was quite unexpected, and the three native battalions composing the brigade under Lieut.-Colonel Montresor would have been overpowered by numbers, had not General Stuart fortunately received timely notice, and moved up in support. Foiled in his attempt, Tippoo returned to cover his capital from the advancing columns of the main army on the side of Bangalore. He was outwitted, however, by General Harris, who, having united his several columns at Kila Mangalam, advanced by a different route from that which had been marched by Lord Cornwallis before, till within sight of Bangalore at Kátágerapettah, and then, counter-marching towards the southward, moved to Kánkánelli, and thence to Málávelli. Here, on the 27th, the first action with the Sultán's forces was

March

See PLATE IX.

* The numbers of the pieces of ordnance are from Lieut.-Colonel Beatson's account. There were no mortars.

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1799 March fought.* They were compelled to retreat with heavy loss, and the army pursued its route. Instead, however, of choosing the north side of the capital for attack, General Harris directed his course to Sosilla, on the Káveri; and having crossed the river at that place, April marched along the right bank, and on the 5th of April took up his position near Sultánpettah, opposite the west face of Seringapatam, and at a distance of 3500 yards. The little opposition which was experienced from the enemy was owing to their evident expectation that the northern side would again be attacked. The reasons given for this selection were two—to facilitate the junction of the Bombay force; and to secure the principal sources of supply for the army which had been formed in the Coorg country, and which existed to the southward, while the lines of communication with the Carnatic in the same direction still remained open.† [1]

Some difference of opinion existed at first as to the point to be attacked. Major A. Beatson, who had rendered good service, not only in the former siege, but on several other occasions, had been attached to the army in the nominal position of surveyor-general, in order that

* Captain A. Caldwell commanded a brigade of six guns in the left wing.

† Although, as will be seen by a comparison between Plates VIII. and XI., the Sultán had abandoned all the outlying defences to the north of the river, as being not sufficiently under cover of the fort guns, yet it is evident that it was anticipated that another attack would be made on the north and east sides. The other end of the island was given up, and the pettah of Sháh Ganjam deserted. An entrenchment was constructed from the Daulat Bágh to the south-west corner of the fort, enclosing space for a camp; a covered way, to avoid the effects of an enfilade fire from the north side of the river, was added to the eastern face; on the north face, several new traverses and mud cavaliers had been constructed on the rampart. Except the north-west bastion, which was of brick, the masonry of the revetment consisted of oblong blocks of granite laid transversely in cement.

[1] Beatson, p. 84.

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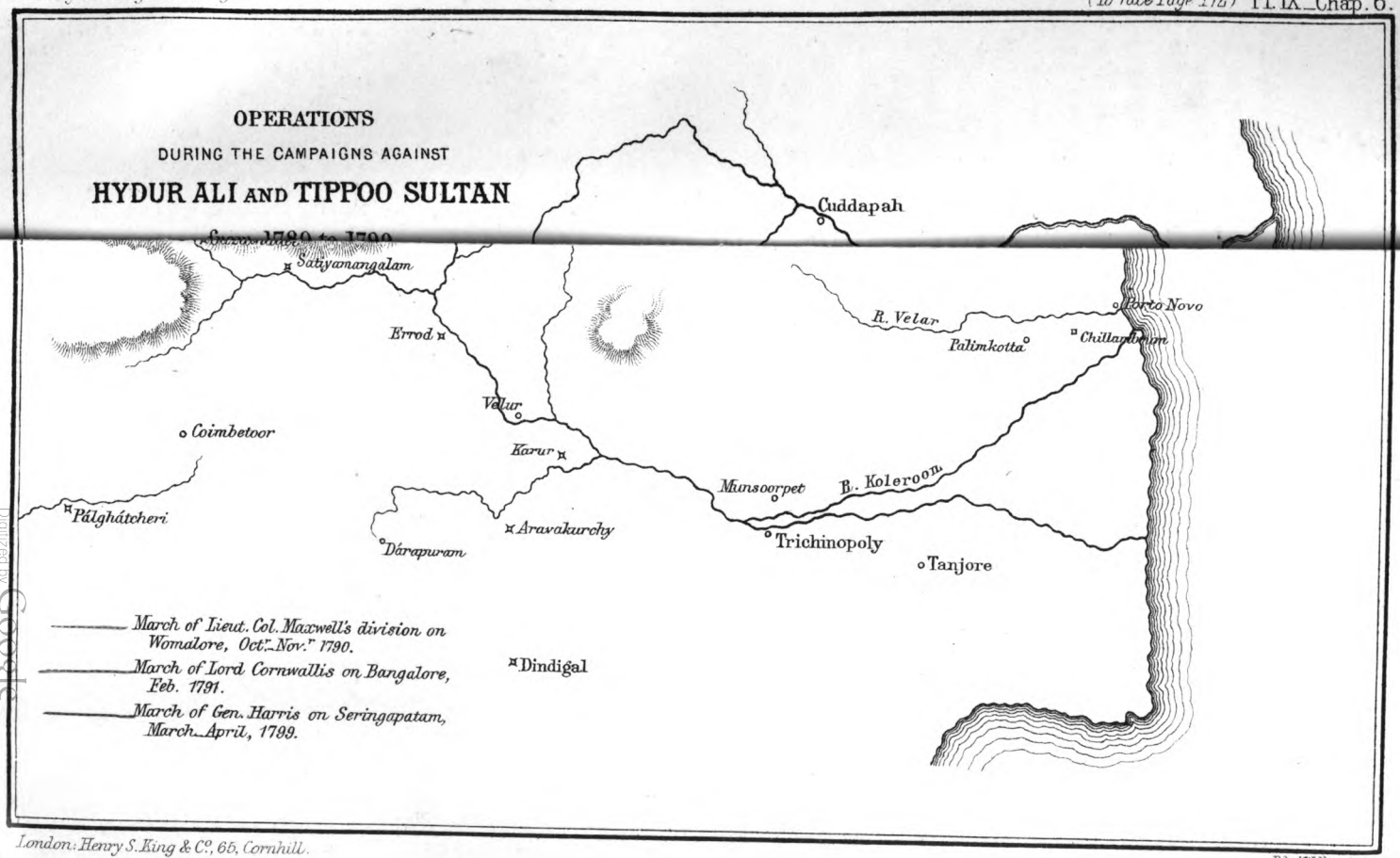

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the general commanding might have the benefit of his sound judgment. Educated as an engineer officer, and having served at first in that corps, and then in the Survey Department, much more than in the infantry, to which fortuitous circumstances had posted him, his experience as well as his talents appeared to justify this departure from precedent. It was he who had sketched out the plan of the campaign which the Governor-General was now carrying out. Nevertheless the engineer officers were not satisfied with this kind of supersession; and when the plan of attack came to be discussed, Colonel W. Gent and Lieut.-Colonel J. C. Sartorius, the senior engineer officers from Madras and Bombay, gave their opinion in favour of the south-west, whereas Major Beatson held that the north-west angle should be assailed. After some discussion and correspondence, General Harris, who himself was originally an artillery officer, decided in favour of Major Beatson's proposal. It is only due to Colonel Sartorius to add that, after the place was taken, he came up and congratulated Major Beatson, stating at the same time his conviction that "it was the only mode by which Seringapatam could have been taken"—a speech equally honourable to both.[1] 1799 April

Before, however, the siege operations could be commenced, the enemy had to be dislodged from their position on the right bank of the river. The front and both flanks of the British army were protected by a watercourse, or nullah, which, issuing from the Káveri at Kaniámbádi, supplied the camp with pure water. The village of Sultánpettah lay within one of the tortuous curves next the camp, and upon the other side, in the corresponding re-entering angle, was a large tope. Out of this it was necessary to drive the enemy. Orders were therefore

[1] "East India Military Calendar," 387-393.

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1799 April

given, on the 5th, for an attack upon it by the 33rd Regiment, under Colonel the Hon. A. Wellesley, while Colonel Shaw with another force was to seize upon the posts of the enemy on the same nullah, higher up. Neither party was, however, successful, and the attempt was renewed next morning with better fortune. Lieut.-Fireworker J. H. Brooke, of Captain Glass's company, was wounded on the 5th. The following posts were established:—

See PLANS Nos. XI. and XII.

"Shaw's post;" one in front of the engineers' tope, left of Sultánpettah; and one at the village itself.

Beyond the nullah, and parallel to it, ran a small branch of the river, which, leaving the main stream opposite to the island named after Colonel Montresor since the campaign of 1792, joined it again below the fort. On the island formed by this branch, the enemy were busily engaged in constructing a redoubt and an entrenchment, to cover that portion of the fort which was evidently to be attacked. Since the campaign of 1792, a bastion (*a*, Plate XII.) of brick masonry had been added, which increased, though but very slightly, the flanking defence of the north and west faces; but for about 500 yards from the bastion along the latter, the curtain was only covered by the flanking fire of three guns, and it was open to an enfilade fire from the left bank of the river, near the village of Agráram, at a distance of 950 yards. The river, too, was very shallow at this time of the year, and as both men and cattle were seen to cross it at the ruins of the Delhi bridge, it was evidently passable for a storming party.

The position of the camp was well chosen. Five large topes of trees within its picquets gave the engineers the materials they wanted—the areca and cocoa palm, with the invaluable bamboo. Colonel William Gent, the chief engineer, had half the coolies in camp and tent lascars

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placed under his orders on the 8th. A working party from the Nizám's contingent fortified the village of Sultánpettah, and a chain of sentries extended along the rear to a picquet at a pagoda on the river. The first battery thrown up was in Colonel Shaw's post, two 12-pounders bearing upon the enemy's entrenchment at the powder-mill. (No. I. Plate XII.) On the 14th Colonel Gent reported himself in readiness to commence operations. The same day Major-General Floyd, who had gone to meet the Bombay force, returned with General Stuart. On Tuesday, the 16th, the latter crossed the river a little above Montresor's Island, and took up the position he maintained during the siege, with his right towards the ford, his left resting on the nullah which wound round the ruins of the Eedgah redoubt, and his rear sufficiently protected by ground intersected by deep ravines. 1799 April

Wednesday, 17th.—General Harris visited the Bombay force, and finding the enemy in possession of the village of Agráram, which was the position intended for the enfilade batteries, ordered out the 74th and 75th Regiments, with two native battalions under Colonel Vaughan Hart, in the afternoon, to relieve them of the necessity of fortifying the post. The attack was supported from the other side of the river, and was quite successful; the village was taken, and a battery for 6-pounders thrown up forthwith. The opportunity was also taken of seizing another post in advance of the village of Palhalli. Colonel Macdonald, with the 2nd Battalion 12th N.I., occupied the bank of the little Káveri, which thence was known by the name of "Macdonald's post," and was afterwards used as a depôt for the engineers' tools and materials. Casualties this day: Lieutenant Macintosh, 2nd Battalion 3rd Madras N.I., and Ensign Nevill, 12th Regiment, wounded.

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1799 April

Thursday, 18*th*.—The enfilading battery (No. II.), which was constructed at Agráram by Captain Dowse's men, under the direction of Captain Mackenzie, and laid down according to the surveys of 1792, was found this morning out of the proper line. An approach was made, partly by a ravine, from Shaw's to Macdonald's post, but it was rather liable to enfilade fire from the fort. Casualties rather numerous: Captain Alexander Torriano and Lieutenant William McRedie, Bombay Artillery, killed; Lieutenants Taylor (Staff), J. Loch, and Barnard (Bombay N.I.), Captain J. Munro, and Lieutenants Vernon and Moore (12th Madras N.I.), wounded.

Saturday, 20*th*.—Two 12-pounders, placed in position in front of the Sultánpettah tope (No. III.), commenced firing on the enemy's entrenchment at the powder-mill at 8 a.m.; and at 6 p.m. an attack upon it, led by Colonel Sherbrooke, under the fire of eighteen guns from the different posts, proved successful. Immediately the Sultán's troops were driven out, a working party commenced to construct, from the mill to the aloe hedge on the northern bank of the little Káveri, a parallel, which was sufficiently completed during the night to afford cover to our troops. Lieutenant Fish, 3rd N.I., was killed; Lieutenant S. Smith, same regiment, and Lieutenant Fletcher, 74th, were wounded.

Sunday, 21*st*.—This parallel was distant 780 yards from the fort, and 440 yards from the nearest point of an entrenchment which ran along the side of the river lower down, covering the western face of the fort. This entrenchment had been made in serpentine curves, doubtless to afford a flank fire all along. The water in the river was now seen to be very shallow, and quite fordable at the very point intended to be breached. This was in the curtain close to the north-west corner bastion.

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A stone glacis, sloping down to the bed of the river, runs along the north face and round this bastion, but terminating at its flank, was succeeded by a thick retaining wall, which, lower than the glacis, left the main rampart greatly exposed to a breaching fire. A battery (No. IV.) for six 18-pounders was this evening, at sunset, marked out in front of the left of the parallel. Captain Mackenzie, who had the superintendence of the attack north of the river, having received orders to construct another battery to the left of No. II., to enfilade the western face, reconnoitred the ground and marked out the spot covered by a part of the 74th Regiment. The casualties this day were—Captain C. J. Meares, 2nd Bombay N.I., killed; Captains Gordon (75th Regiment), Marshall (5th), and W. Browne (3rd Bombay N.I.), wounded. 1799 April

Monday, 22*nd*.—A general attack was made upon the whole of the outposts of the Bombay divisions early this morning, vigorously and gallantly sustained for some time; but the enemy was obliged to retreat with the loss of 600 or 700 men. Battery No. IV. had, by the exertions of Captain Dowse and his men, been got ready in six hours; four 18-pounders and two howitzers were able to open their fire by daylight. As it worked well, two more guns were added to it this evening. No. V., the new enfilading battery at Agráram, which had been delayed so long, was nearly finished; it was a sunken battery, three feet below the *terrepleine*. The four 18-pounders, and two howitzers of No. II., were moved into it.

Tuesday, 23*rd*.—Batteries IV. and V. both opened at sunrise, and quickly silenced the guns within their range. The enfilade fire was most successful; but as the latter battery was much annoyed by the fire which the enemy kept up from some ruined houses near it, two 6-pounders

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1799 April

were placed in position on the south bank of the river, at the left of the parallel, which opening upon them, obliged them to retire to an unfinished *tête-de-pont* covering the Delhi bridge.

Wednesday, 24th.—The village of Palhalli, in advance of the Sultánpettah tope, was occupied during the night of the 23rd by the detail and two field-pieces before stationed at the tope. Besides this, a sunken battery for two 12-pounders (No. VI.) was at the same time placed about six hundred yards in front of Shaw's post, to bear upon the line of entrenchments. Another sunken battery was constructed on the same ground as No. III., near the Sultánpettah tope, which had a good command. This was intended not only to act upon the same entrenchments, and take in reverse, if necessary, any works which might be constructed in the bed of the river to cover the breach; but it was not finished, on account of the rocky nature of the ground. Most of the detail at Shaw's post had been pushed forward, and occupied a deep ravine, where they were secure from the fire of the fort. By the evening of this day the west face of the fort was almost silenced; the south side and the distant cavaliers and bastions kept up a fire even to the circular outwork on the south-east angle, distant above 2000 yards.

Thursday, 25th.—A violent storm of wind and rain last night made the general very anxious lest operations should be delayed.* The first advance from the parallel to-day on the right of the eight-gun battery (No. IV.) was made during the night by a zigzag, of which 250 and 130 yards were completed, and enlarged during the day by a working party from the guard in the trenches. Lieutenant Blair, 1st Battalion of Madras Artillery, was wounded to-day.

* Supplies in camp were running short.

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Friday, 26th.—A battery for four 18-pounders (No. VII.) at the first angle of the zigzag opened this morning upon the round towers (*e, e*), which still remained to flank the breach, and in half an hour the guns in them were withdrawn. It was determined to attack the enemy's entrenchment between the two branches of the river this evening. Colonel Wellesley was commanding in the trenches. Two columns, led by Major Skelly on the right, and Lieut.-Colonel Moneypenny, cleared the ground in front of the advanced trenches, and drove the enemy from the left of the entrenchment. They then took post under cover in the watercourse which, leaving the little Kâveri high up, ran past the powder-mill in front of the entrenchment into the main stream at the Periapatam bridge. It was dry, the water having been turned off into the river above the powder-mill. But about the centre of the enemy's works the little river, after almost meeting this watercourse, again took a turn backwards, forming a tolerably deep re-entering curve. Here, in front of a stone bridge, there was a circular redoubt open towards the fort, where the enemy collected in great numbers, and both enfiladed and took in reverse the columns in the watercourse. 1799 April

The relief for the trenches under Colonel Sherbrooke, purposely delayed, had now arrived, and a part of the 74th and the Swiss Regiment de Meuron were ordered to attack the enemy on this flank, which was done with great gallantry—Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, after the redoubt was stormed, following up the fugitives across the Periapatam bridge as far even as the entrenched camp on the island, whence, having spiked some guns and caused considerable confusion, he made good his retreat under a heavy fire.* Blue lights burning from

* Capt.-Lieutenant Alexander Caldwell accompanied this party.—"East India Military Calendar," i. 235.

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1799 April

the ramparts to the west and south, and a cannonade from every side, kept up an appearance of active resistance for more than an hour after our troops withdrew. Lieut.-Colonel Wallace had taken possession of this post at the stone bridge; but this being too far from the main body for support, it was left to the enemy, who soon reoccupied it, and kept up all night a galling fire.

On the morning of the 27th the position of Lieut.-Colonel Wallace was very critical. Colonel Sherbrooke detached all the men who could be spared from the trenches with pickaxes and mamooties, and these by 10 o'clock had thrown up sufficient cover to secure the position, which retained the name of "Wallace's post." Major Skelly had been sent with a portion of the Scotch Brigade, and had dislodged the enemy from before the stone bridge, occupying the post henceforward known by his name. The casualties in these two days were very great; there were 62 killed, 226 wounded, and 19 missing.

Officers killed: Captain Hay, Scotch Brigade, and Lieutenant Irvine, 74th Regiment; Lieutenants Beath, Innes, and McLean, Scotch Brigade; Captain Aytoun, and Lieutenants Maxwell and Carrington, 74th; Lieutenant McLean, jun., 73rd Regiment; Captain Piachaud, Regiment de Meuron; and Lieutenant Fagan, 3rd Battalion of Bengal Volunteers.

Sunday, 28th.—Skelly's post was strengthened by a double entrenchment and cover thrown up at Wallace's post for the troops. The first breaching battery (No. VIII.) was marked out at sunset this day between the aqueduct and the river. The zigzag, which had been pushed on, was also widened and deepened.

Monday, 29th.—The breaching battery was completed for six guns, and the platforms laid by 10 o'clock a.m., but a day was lost, owing to the difficulty experienced in dragging the guns through the swampy ground.

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Tuesday, 30th.—During the night a battalion of sepoys were employed in repairing the embrasures of Nos. IV. and VII. batteries, and in enlarging the trench behind No. VIII. Captain Mackenzie enlarged No. V. by adding two guns to its left, and also a place of arms for four field-pieces in addition, in order that the great amount of fire thus brought to bear on the rampart behind the breach might effectually keep it clear. 1799 April

Wednesday, 1st May.—No. VIII. battery continued since the preceding morning to fire upon the north-west bastion itself, to conceal the real place of the intended breach, which was in the curtain close by. The second breaching battery (No. IX.), named after the Nizám, was completed to-day for five guns. On its right a place was prepared for six howitzers, 5½ and 8-inch, and the platforms of No. VIII. were altered to bear upon the point to be breached, though the guns still continued to fire upon the bastion. There was a projecting hornwork (*g*) close to the large round tower and cavalier (*h*) on the western face, the guns of which, though low, bore upon the flank of No. IX; wherefore a two-gun battery (*X*), a little retired from the other, was constructed this night to keep down its fire. Another, No. XI., for four 12-pounders, to enfilade the high works (*i* and *k*), as well as another more distant. May

See PLAN No. XII.

Thursday, 2nd May.—The two breaching batteries opened at sunrise on a point in the curtain 60 yards from the flank of the bastion, supported by the fire of the following batteries:—

Nos.		Guns.	Howitzers.
III.	Tomb Battery	2 ...	0
IV.	Mill Battery	4 ...	0
V.	Bombay Enfilading Battery	6 ...	0
VI.	Shaw's Post	2 ...	0
VII.	Four-gun Battery	4 ...	0
IX.	Breaching Battery	0 ...	6
	Total ...	18 ...	6

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1799 May all with good effect. Soon after this had opened, a shot struck and exploded a rocket magazine within the fort. About the same time, Lieut.-Colonel E. Montagu, who was in one of the breaching batteries watching the effect of the fire, had his arm shattered near the shoulder, Amputation was performed, and he seemed to be going on favourably; he even caused himself to be carried down to the batteries, to encourage the men with his presence. It was the last day of the siege, and the last day on which he served with the corps, to which he was so much endeared by his soldier-like qualities; but mortification set in from a contusion on the chest, and he died on the sixth day. Thus the Bengal Artillery lost an officer of rare energy and professional ability, and the army one who was universally loved and respected. That his name was omitted altogether by General Harris in his despatches is a blot upon them; still more, perhaps, a blot upon the reputation of the commanding officer of the artillery, with whom personal feeling appears to have been the reason of the omission.* Lieutenant Thomas Cookesley, of the 1st Battalion Madras Artillery, killed this day.

On the afternoon of the 3rd, one of the breaching batteries caught fire, and in extinguishing the flames, under a very heavy fire directed upon it, Captain H. Cosby, deputy adjutant-general, one of Colonel Wellesley's staff, and a very zealous officer, was killed.

So far the business of the siege appeared to have prospered satisfactorily, though with some heavy losses. But the situation of the army was really very critical. There was not at this time more than two days' supply of food in camp, and General Harris saw that he must take the place forthwith or go. As the breach was con-

* See Note E, appendix to chapter iv.

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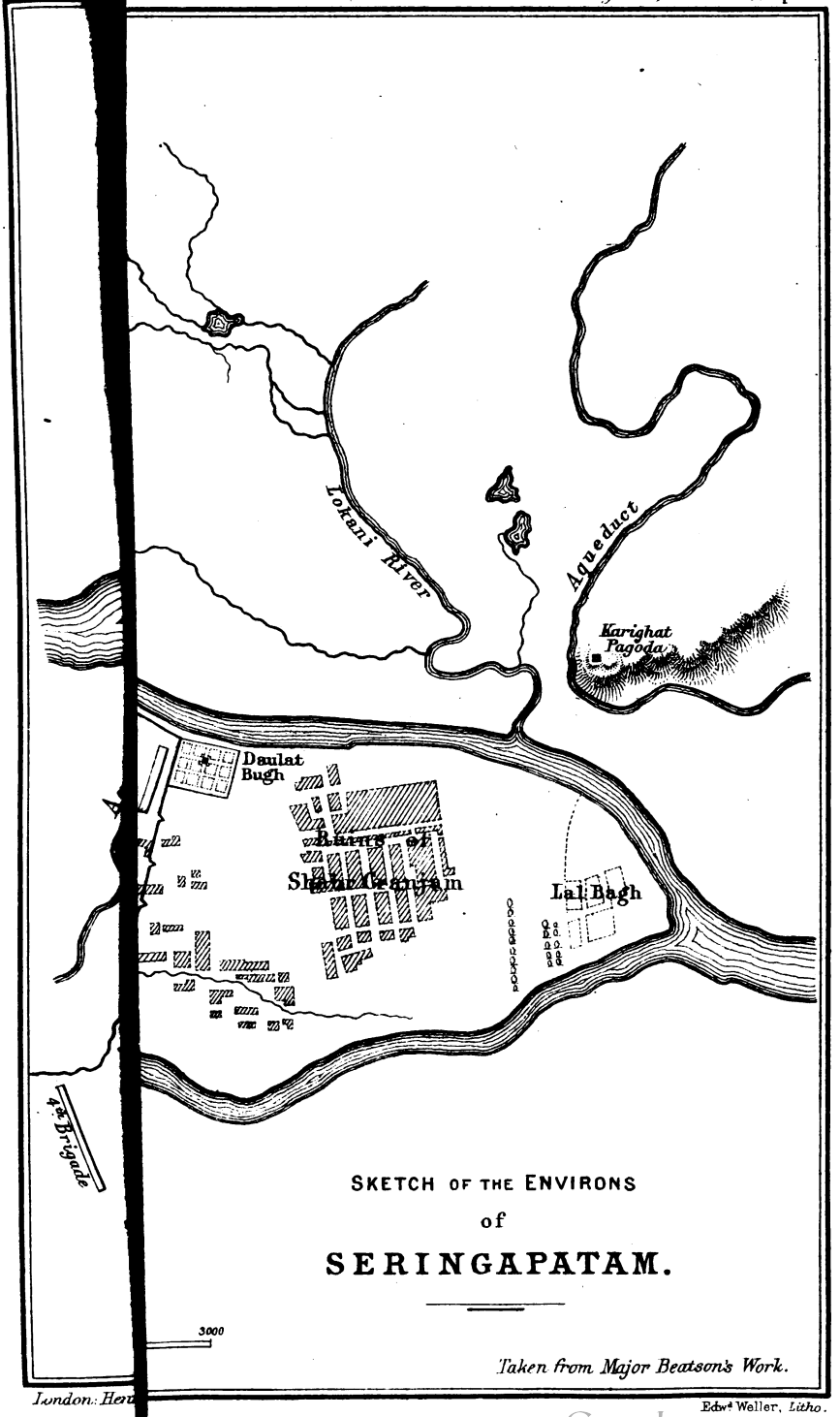

SKETCH OF THE ENVIRONS

of

SERINGAPATAM.

Taken from Major Beatson's Work.

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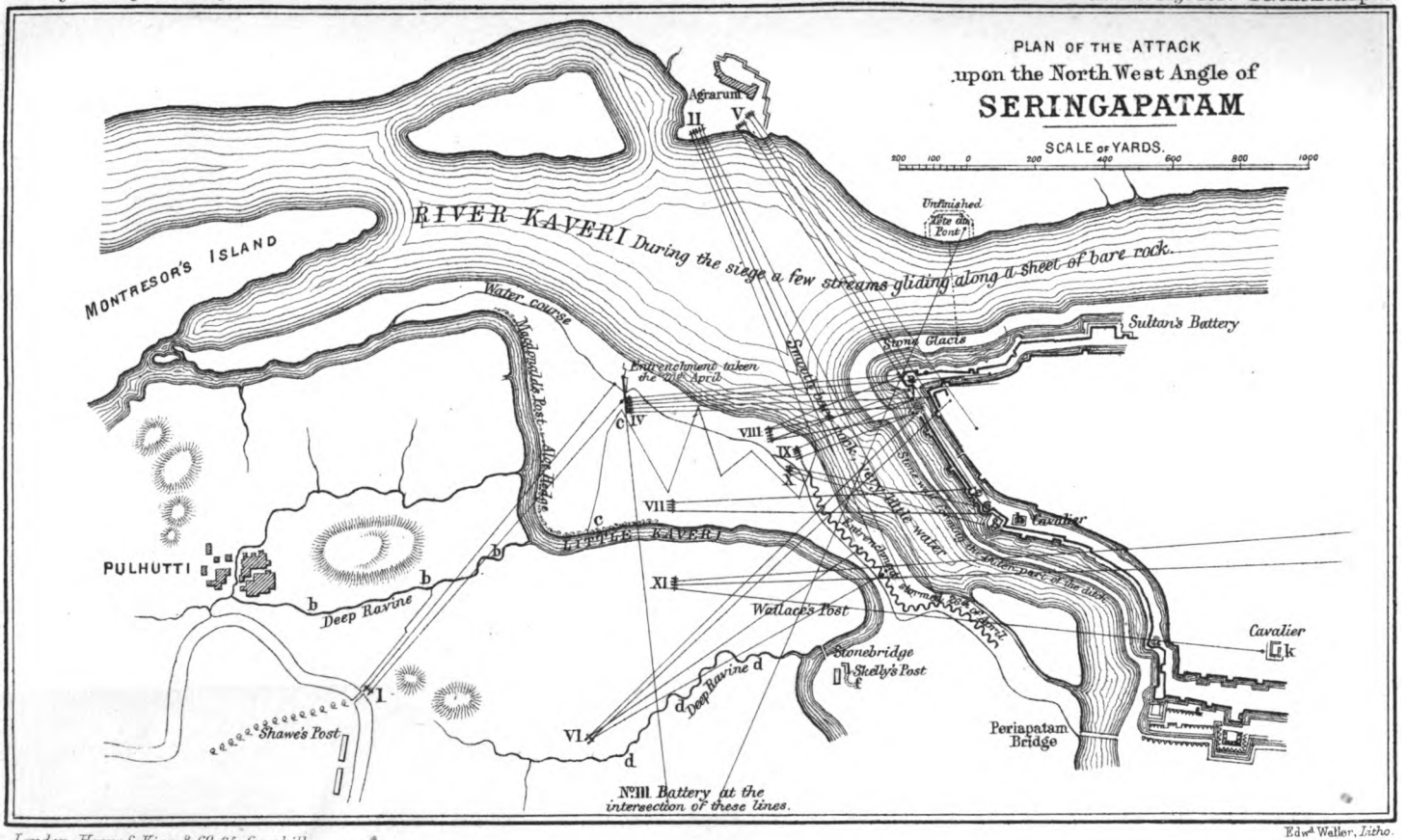

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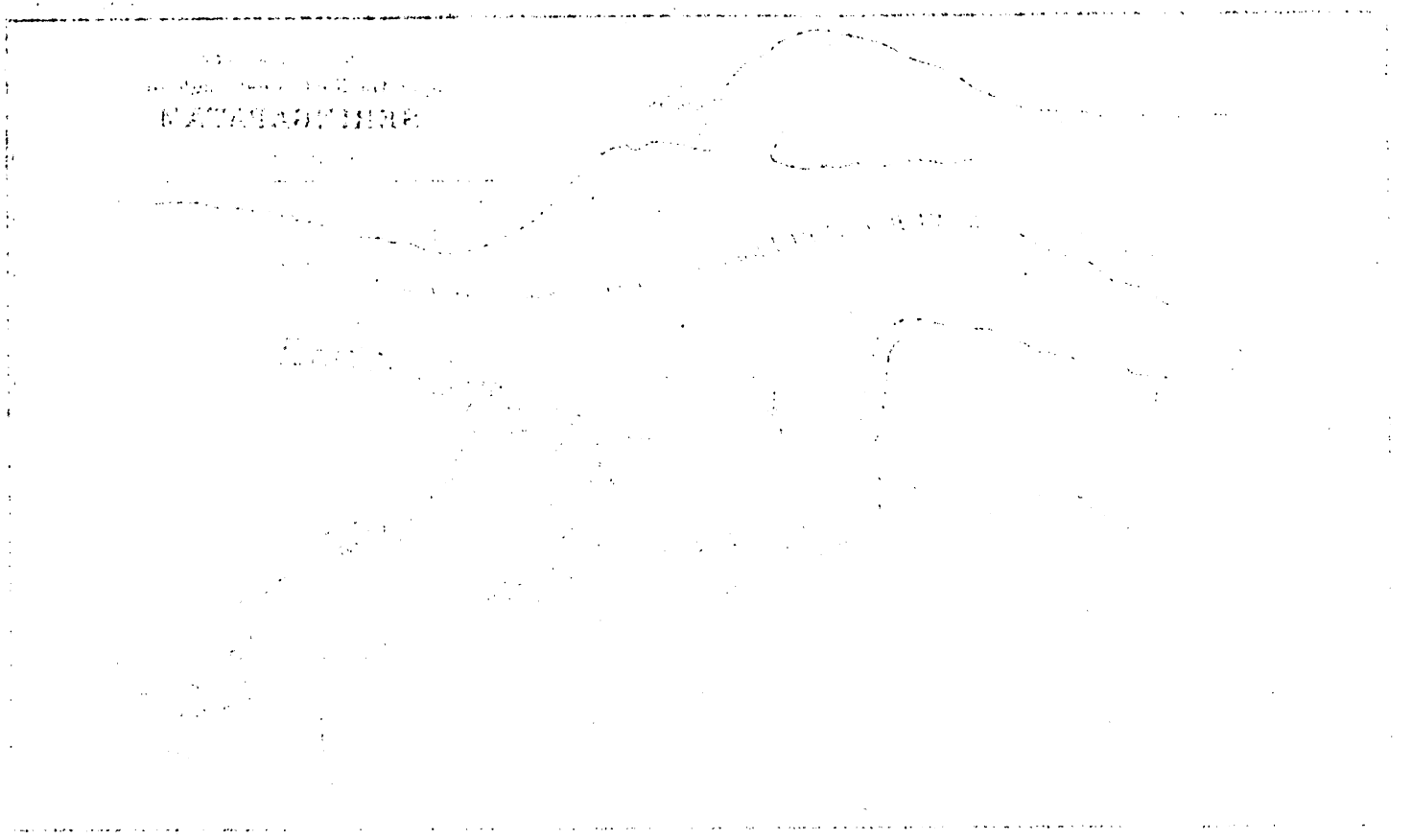

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sidered practicable, orders were given for the storm the following day. Major-General Baird had the honour of the command. The assault was by two columns, as follows, viz. :— 1799 May

RIGHT COLUMN.—Colonel Sherbrooke.

Four flank companies from the Scotch Brigade and Regiment de Meuron.

73rd and 74th Regiments.

Eight flank companies Madras N.I.—Lieut.-Colonel Dalrymple.

Six flank companies Bombay N.I.—Lieut. Colonel Mignan.

Fifty artillerymen with lascars.—Captain R. Bell and Lieutenant-Fireworker A. Gibson, Madras Artillery.

Forlorn Hope.—A sergeant and twelve men ; a subaltern's party under Lieutenant Hill, 74th Regiment.

Right in front—to move along the south rampart of the fort.

LEFT COLUMN.—Lieutenant-Colonel Dunlop.

Six flank companies of the three regiments Bombay Artillery.

12th and 33rd Regiments.

Ten flank companies Bengal N.I.—Lieut.-Colonel J. Gardiner.

Fifty artillerymen with lascars.—Captain-Lieutenant F. Prescott, Madras Artillery.

Forlorn Hope.—A sergeant and twelve men ; a subaltern's party under Lieutenant A. Lawrence, 77th Regiment.*

Left in front—to take possession of the cavalier close to the breach, and move along the north rampart of the fort till they joined the right attack.

It was half-past 1 o'clock p.m., on the 4th that Major-General Baird stepped out of the trenches, and called upon the men to follow him to the assault. Under his leading, failure was not likely; but had this happened, it was the commander-in-chief's intention to have sent Colonel Wellesley to his support, and, in the event of the place not being then carried, then to have gone himself.[1] But the columns were too well led and the men too

* Father of the late Sir Henry M. Lawrence, Bengal Artillery.

[1] "Life of Lord Harris," p. 332.

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1799 May staunch to render this necessary. Within two hours Seringapatam was in our hands, and "the conquering lion of God" * was lying in one of the gateways on the northern side, under a heap of bodies, slain by the hands of a private soldier.

In the course of the previous night, Captain John Jourdan, 2nd Battalion Madras Artillery, was killed, and Major Mandeville, of the same battalion, was wounded. Captain-Lieutenant Frederick Prescott was wounded in the storm. The total number of casualties among the artillery, from the 4th of April to the 4th of May, both days inclusive, was comparatively small, viz. :—

	EUROPEANS.			NATIVES.			Total.
	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	
Detachment Bengal Artillery ...	4	12	0	2	10	0	28
1st Battalion Madras Artillery ...	6	6	0	0	5	0	17
2nd Battalion Madras Artillery ...	8	15	1	9	27	8	68
Detachment Bombay Artillery ...	4	6	0	5	4	0	19
Total	22	39	1	16	46	8	132

The number of pieces of ordnance taken in the fort was very large, amounting to 929, of which 287 guns were mounted on the ramparts.

After the fall of Seringapatam, Captain Clarke's company, the 5th Company, 2nd Battalion, returned to Ceylon, and Captain Dunn's, the 3rd Company, 1st Battalion, returned to Bengal;† while those of Captains

* "Asad ullah al ghálib," one of Tippoo's titles. It was engraved on his seal, and will be found on the trophy guns taken here, which were sent home from Meerut in 1867.

† With the 10th Regiment N.I. "The conduct of the artillery and lascars attached to the regiment, during the time of its absence from these provinces, is equally entitled to commendation."—Minute by the Governor-General, 19th January, 1800.

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Tomkyns and Glass remained with the force in Mysore commanded by Colonel, now Major-General Wellesley, and were employed with the detachments under Colonels Dalrymple and Stevenson, which, following the predatory outlaw Dhundía Wágh, took the forts of Harihar (30th July), Harnalli (8th August), and Shikárpore (17th August), and freed Bidnore from the ravages of this lawless robber. 1799

The booty taken at Seringapatam was ordered by the Governor-General, in anticipation of the royal sanction and that of the Court of Directors, to be distributed forthwith, and medals were granted to all the native troops employed.

Upon the return of the 1st Company, 3rd Battalion to Bengal, Colonel C. Green, the commandant, issued the following regimental order:—

"Fort William, 19th September, 1801.

"Colonel Green feels a particular pleasure in congratulating Captain Tomkyns and the officers and soldiers of his detachment upon their safe return from a long and arduous service, to join the regiment he has the honour to command; and he deems it his duty, in justice to the meritorious zeal and professional exertions shown by the Bengal Artillery during the late various campaigns in Mysore, and in the pursuit of Doondia Khan, to thank him and them thus publicly and in the name of the corps, to whose general reputation the good conduct of the detachment has so highly contributed. At the same time that Colonel Green has to lament their diminution in point of numbers since they quitted Bengal, it must reflect additional credit on them that, however thus weakened by casualties incidental to long warfare, they have ever manifested a cheerful, patient, and steady adherence to the active performance of those services they have been called upon for, under many trying and fatiguing exigencies; they are in consequence most justly entitled to the character of good and veteran soldiers, and as such will ever merit his warmest support and good offices."

Twenty-one years after, orders from the Court of

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1799 Directors laid down[1] that, not only the regiments of their army, but the companies of artillery employed in this siege, should bear the word "SERINGAPATAM" on their appointments. A later system has rendered this and similar* orders inoperative; but the minds of true soldiers have always attached a high value to all such distinctions, far beyond that of honours more universally worn, notwithstanding the correctness of certain theories advanced by those who would condemn them. But theories grow old, even within the memory of a single generation, whilst honour is lasting.

EXPEDITION TO EGYPT, 1801-1802.

The value of a campaign is not always to be measured by the number of battles fought. There are other experiences to be derived from warfare than those of strategy and tactics in the usual acceptance of the terms, and armies sometimes may be entitled to credit for work performed in the field, though not in the presence of an enemy.

The moral effect produced by the despatch to Egypt, in 1801, of a force from India, was intended to be felt in Europe. And the impression made by the appearance of Sir David Baird's force, while encamped in the island of Roda, near Cairo, where it was paraded every morning at daylight for several hours, was not lost upon the Turkish or the other foreign officers who witnessed the sight, to them a novel one, of sepoy regiments manœuvring

* *e.g.*, G. G. O. January 9th, 1843, which directed that the words "JELALABAD" should be inscribed on the guns of the 2nd Company, 6th Battalion. For my part, I should wish to see engraved on the chase of each gun the name of every considerable action the battery has ever served in.

[1] G. G. O. April 11th, 1822.

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in brigade with British corps, and as steadily.* The country through which this force marched to join General Hutchinson had its peculiar features, and presented difficulties to be overcome and hardships to be endured of an unusual kind. It will not be possible to do more than touch upon these matters. Horse artillery, which had then been introduced into the British army as a distinct arm but seven years before, was now for the first time to be tried with an Indian force; and though it was not actively engaged, the experience they acquired was of service afterwards, when, in the rapid and energetic movements of Lord Lake, they were called upon to perform work which ranks deservedly high among the records of military achievements.

The Earl of Mornington had, towards the latter end of 1800
the year 1800, organized an expedition intended for the conquest of Batavia and the island of Mauritius. Major-General David Baird, lately sent from the Cape of Good Hope, was to command. But orders from home[1] received on the 6th of February, 1801, directed that a force from India of 1000 Europeans and 2000 native infantry was to be sent to Egypt by the Red Sea, to co-operate with Sir Ralph Abercrombie, and the destination of the expedition already formed was changed accordingly. H.M.'s 10th Regiment, a battalion formed of sepoys who volunteered for the service, and a detachment of foot artillery, not including the head-quarters of any company, em-

* Sepoy regiments (not on the irregular system) could always be taught to drill with perfect steadiness; instances have in all times of the Company's *ráj* been known, and if necessity occasionally existed for the issue of a "chips in porridge" general order,[2] the fault lay with the commanding officer.

[1] Downing Street, 6th October, 1800.

[2] G. O. C. C. Camp, Meean Meer, 15th December, 1849. "Records of the Indian Command of General Sir C. J. Napier, G.C.B."

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1800 barked at Calcutta for Trincomalee, in Ceylon, on the 27th of November, 1800. The foot artillery was commanded by Captain-Lieutenant William Fleming, with Lieutenants J. P. Drummond and Harry Stark, and was of the following strength :—

Europeans.						Golandáz.				Lascars.			
Capt.-Lieut.	Lieutenants.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Gunners.	Matrosses.	Jemadar.	Havildas.	Naicks.	Privates.	Serang.	1st Tindals.	2nd Tindals.	Lascars.
1	2	4	4	6	24	1	3	3	40	1	3	6	93

The experimental horse artillery which was partly organized at this time, and afterwards regularly embodied as the brigade of that army, was not sufficiently equipped,
1801 and did not embark till the February following. Lieutenant and Brevet-Captain Clement Brown commanded it, and its strength, together with a portion of the body-guard attached to it, was :—

Horse Artillery.							Body-Guard.							Golandáz.			Lascars.					
Brevet-Captain.	Acting Conductor.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Farrier.	Gunners.	Matrosses.	Jemadar.	Havildars.	Naicks.	Troopers.	2nd Tindals.	Lascars.	Syces.	Grass-cutters.	Havildars.	Naicks.	Privates.	1st Tindals.	2nd Tindals.	Lascars.	Syces.	Grass-cutters.	Horses.
1	1	3	3	1	6	14	1	2	2	22	1	11	27	27	2	2	20	1	2	40	9	9	9

There was also a quarter-master's and artificers' establishment; the latter, however, on but imperfect footing. This was not the whole of the horse artillery which had been raised, probably not more than one-half.

To each native officer and soldier, a bounty of one month's pay and full batta while on foreign service was given, and they were allowed to superintend themselves

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the laying in of the rice, &c., intended for their food during the voyage. 1801

From Trincomalee the detachment proceeded to Point de Galle in January, where it was joined by the 80th and 86th Regiments and Colonel Wellesley, and, sailing from thence, reached Bombay in the end of March; from whence, their destination now being known, they proceeded with a convoy on their way to the Red Sea. At Bombay Major-General Baird, who had left Calcutta in February, joined. Colonel Wellesley was taken ill, and left behind to follow with one of the detachments; but the state of his health prevented his sharing in this campaign, and he returned to his former post at Seringapatam. At Jeddah, in the Red Sea, a reinforcement, with which was a detachment of Royal Artillery under Captain-Lieutenant R. Beevor, joined from the Cape of Good Hope.

It had been intended to proceed up the Red Sea as far as Suez, but owing to the delay which had occurred, the northerly monsoons of that gulf had set in, and the general determined to land at Kosseir. To this place Lieut.-Colonel J. Murray, 84th Regiment, the quarter-master general, had been sent in May to survey the route and arrange for supplies, water, and transport. PLATE, No. XIII. July

The whole force amounted to 5226 rank and file of the following corps :—[1]

ARTILLERY.

Royal Artillery ...	Commanded by	Capt.-Lieutenant	R. Beevor.
Bengal Horse Artillery	,,	,,	C. Brown.
,, Foot	,,	,,	W. Flemyng.
Madras ,,	,,	,,	Major Robert Bell.
Bombay ,,	,,	,,	Captain Geo. Powell.

ENGINEERS.

Royal, Bengal, Madras (with Pioneers), and Bombay.

[1] "Asiatic Annual Register," iv. 87.

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1801

CAVALRY.

H.M.'s 8th Royal Irish Dragoons.

INFANTRY.

H.M.'s 10th, 61st, 80th, 86th, and 88th Regiments.
Bengal Volunteers; 1st and 7th Regiments Bombay N.I.

Colonel Samuel Auchmuty, of the 10th Regiment, was adjutant-general, and Captain J. G. Scott, Madras Artillery, commissary of stores. Besides the above detail, the officers, non-commissioned officers, drummers, lascars, and followers, both public and private, amounted to 2820. The lascars numbered 440. The guns of the foot artillery were drawn by bullocks brought from Bombay.

From Kosseir, the distance to Ghenneh on the Nile was 120 miles, and the road led over very difficult ground.* The army marched in four brigades—the first commanded by Colonel W. C. Beresford,† of the 88th Regiment; the second by the Hon. Colonel Ramsay, of the 80th; the third by Lieut.-Colonel Barlow, of the 61st; and the fourth by Lieut.-Colonel Harness, of the 80th. The quarter-master general had been engaged, not only in procuring camels and carriage, and boats on the Nile, but in selecting spots for wells along the route. Captain C. B. Burr, Bombay N.I., and Lieutenant G. Warden, Bombay Artillery, deputy commissary of stores, were employed in digging new ones, or clearing out those

* The route from Kosseir was :—

To the New Wells	... 11 miles	...	Water.
Half-way to Moilah	... 17 „	...	No water.
Moilah	... 17 „	...	Water and provisions.
Advanced Wells ...	... 9 „	...	Water.
Half-way to El Ghai-ba	... 19 „	...	Water.
El Ghai-ba ...	... 19 „	...	Water and provisions.
Baranbar	... 18 „	...	Water.
Ghenneh	... 10 „	...	The Nile.

† Afterwards Field-Marshal Lord Beresford.

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which General Béliard, with a detachment of the French army, had before made. 1801

On marching days each man was to be allowed one pint of wine, half served out in the morning, half in the evening; just before marching rice was served out ready cooked, and the *kánji* (rice gruel)* in which it was boiled was ordered to be put into the men's canteens every evening, mixed with the half pint of wine. They were warned against indulging too freely in drinking water, and recommended to restrict themselves to the quantity to be served out to them twice a day, nearly a gallon. It would have been sufficient, but was not always available. A supply of about two gallons per man besides was to have been carried in mussuks † along with the columns.

Those who have sailed down the Red Sea, at almost any season, will be able in some measure to understand the amount of heat that had to be endured by these troops in the month of June.‡ They marched, of course, by night and kept to their tents all day. Deaths from heat apoplexy were numerous, but not as much so as might have been expected, nor as many as occurred in India during the hot weather campaigns of 1857-58. But there were no grog shops in the desert, and the supply of arrack or rum was limited. Dysentery and ophthalmia

* This was deemed nutritious. It used to form one of the articles of hospital diet. Garrison and regimental prisons were termed "congee houses," apparently because it formed a large portion of prison diet.

† More properly "mashak." Not necessary to translate for any one who has been in India. Usually made of a whole goat's skin sewn up into a water-bag, with an opening at the neck tied up by a string. Hindoos of good caste will not, of course, drink water out of one.

‡ On the 29th of June, in an officer's tent at Le Gita, at 3 p.m. the mercury stood at 114°, and in the men's tents it must have been higher. —"Life of General Baird," vol. ii., appendix, p. 412. This is, however, not greater than a thermometer would show in many parts of the Punjab.

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1801 July also prevailed, but chiefly in Lower Egypt.* The use of a green gauze veil, not unknown to frequenters of Epsom Downs on a Derby day, was generally adopted to preserve the eyes from the latter.

This part of the route was not accomplished without much difficulty. The leathern mussuks continually got dry and leaked. General Baird had caused wells to be dug at certain places along the route, but the supply of water was scanty and uncertain. Colonel Beresford, with the advance, was from these circumstances reduced to great straits. The transport of the artillery and stores over the roadless sand and rock, with a very limited supply of camels, was tedious and difficult;† but the

* The number of deaths in the force, from its landing in Egypt till the 4th October, 1801, was only 199 altogether. I do not believe that, with all our improved knowledge, a force on service now would show so small a bill of mortality. Two causes appear to me to have much to do with causing heat apoplexy on service. Exposure to the sun intensifies both. Either the drinking of spirits on an empty stomach or working upon a too full one. Men who work hard all day without the opportunity of getting more than one good meal are apt to consume the whole of their meat ration at once, and it is too often "exhibited" by the cooks in its most indigestible form. In 1858, when commanding a battery upon service, I endeavoured to steer between the two extremes, and never allowed my men to fight upon an empty stomach if possible, while applications for "extra tots" were lessened by procuring an extra ration of tea. That there was not a case of heat apoplexy, and an average in the field of only four men in hospital from my battery, while it had from April to June more than an average exposure to the sun, may have been partly due to such precautions. M. le Comte de Noé, who served with the 10th Regiment in Egypt, and who, as a professed *cuisinier*, ought to be an authority, upholds the virtues of tea. He says:—

"Nous avions en outre la ressource du thé, et nous en usions fréquemment. On a remarqué que son arome corrige les defauts de l'eau, et que sa propriété tonique soutient le système general contre les principes délétères de la chaleur; en effet, il reparoit nos forces, et nous delassoit de nos fatigues; c'est la meilleure boisson dont on puisse faire usage dans le desert."—"Expédition Anglaise de l'Inde en Egypte," p. 144.

† The experimental troop lost all their horses for want of water, and the guns had to be carried on camels for some time.—*East India U.S. Journal*, vol. xii. p. 24.

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energy of General Baird was well supported by the spirit of his troops. 1801 July

Through ravines and over rocks, now hemmed in by the scarped sides of gorges, now toiling over a wide expanse of sand with weary steps, and tantalized by the mirage mocking them with visions of shady trees and cool water, they reached the Nile at Ghenneh, and with real shade and real fruit compensated * themselves for the previous misery. Owing to all the causes of delay, the different detachments were not assembled at Ghenneh till after the middle of July, when the army, except the 10th Regiment, which marched along the left bank as far as Girgeh, embarked in boats and sailed down the Nile. A few days sufficed to take them down. On the 8th of August General Baird reached Ghizeh, and on the 16th encamped on the island of Roda, between that place and Cairo. Here they stayed for a few days, during which time dysentery and ophthalmia were severely felt, particularly by the 89th Regiment. The French had not yet evacuated Egypt; the fort and harbour of Rosetta were still held by them, and General Hutchinson ordered General Baird to advance. A small force consisting of two companies of the 10th Regiment, two of the 51st Regiment, 400 sepoys of the 1st Bombay N.I., and a detachment of artillery, were left at Ghizeh under Brigadier-General Ramsay. The 89th Regiment † and some sepoys were ordered to Damietta; and the rest, re-embarking on the Nile, sailed down to its mouth,

* Melons and water fetched the highest prices. It was necessary to restrain the soldiers in the use of the rich grapes sold abundantly at Ghenneh.—"Life of General Baird," vol. ii. appendix, p. 413.

† 300 men of the 80th Regiment, 300 sepoys, with artillery and engineers, under Colonel Lloyd, according to the "Life of General Baird," vol. i. p. 358.

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1802 reaching Rosetta on the 29th of August, too late to participate in any of the fighting, as Alexandria had capitulated.*

The Anglo-Indian army remained in Egypt till two months after the peace of Amiens was signed. On the 10th of May it was again collected at Ghizeh, from whence it marched by detachments across the desert to Suez, making the distance now done by rail in a few hours in five marches. On the 5th of June the head-quarters embarked on board H.M.S. *Victoria*, and reached Calcutta towards the end of July. The 61st and the 88th Regiments were sent home; but from 1000 to 1200 men were allowed to volunteer, and returned to India.

The Bengal Foot Artillery returned, under command of Lieutenant H. Stark, on board the *Commerce*, and the men rejoined their companies in Fort William on the 1st of August. Captain-Lieutenant W. Flemyng must have gone home from Egypt, as did other officers of the force, for his name does not appear upon the returns in October, 1801; and he retired in England in December, 1802. Lieutenant J. P. Drummond had returned to India on sick certificate in September, 1801. The horse artillery, under Lieutenant C. Brown, disembarked on the 4th of August, and joined the rest of the experimental brigade.

The following general order was published by the Governor-General on this occasion:—

"GENERAL ORDER.

"Fort William, July 31st, 1802.

"Major-General Baird, commanding the forces employed in the late expedition from India to Egypt, arrived this day at the Pre-

* In the feelings of disappointment which this caused, none shared more deeply than the gallant leader of the Indian army.

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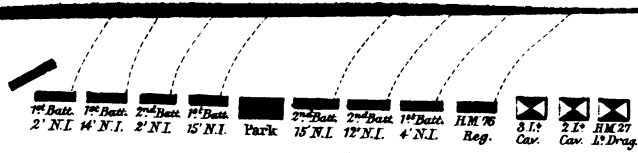
PLAN OF THE

BATTLE OF DELHI



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sidency, attended by the Governor-General's state boats, and was received on his landing at Chándpál Ghát by the officers of his Excellency's staff. 1802

"The Governor-General in Council has derived sincere satisfaction from the highly honourable testimony borne by Major-General the Earl of Cavan to the services of Major-General Baird, and of the troops from the establishment of India lately employed in Egypt.

"Under a grateful impression of the important aid derived to the common cause of our country by the able and successful conduct of the expedition from India to Egypt, his Excellency is pleased to order that honorary medals be conferred upon all the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers, troopers, and sepoys, golandáz, and gun lascars, who have been employed on service in Egypt."

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APPENDIX.

Note A.—Names of officers of the Bengal Artillery who served during the third Mysore war.

Note B.—Names of officers of the Madras Artillery who served during the third Mysore war.

Note C.—Names of officers of the Bombay Artillery who served during the third Mysore war.

Note D.—Names of Engineer officers who served during the third Mysore war.

Note E.—Return of Artillery belonging to the Anglo-Indian army in Egypt, from July to October, 1810.

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Note A.

Officers of the Bengal Artillery who served during the third Mysore war, 1799.

Rank.	Name.	Co.	Bat.	Remarks.
Lieut.-Col.	Edward Montagu	...		Died 8th of May of a wound received on the 2nd.
Captain	Andrew Glass	2	3	
,,	John Tomkyns	1	3	
,,	Edward Clarke	5	2	
,,	William Dunn	3	1	
Capt.-Lieut.	Henry Balfour	2	3	
,,	Alexander Caldwell	3	1	
Lieutenant	Andrew Dunn	2	3	
,,	G. Pennington	3	1	
,,	Robert Brown	...		Quarter-Master.
,,	Robert Hetzler	5	2	
,,	Robert Douglas	5	2	Died at Pandalamkurchi, 5th September, 1799, probably with 1st Co., 3rd Batt.
,,	John P. Drummond	...		Adjutant.
,,	Wm. H. Green	3	1	
Lieut.-Fireworker	William Richards	3	1	
,,	Edward Graham	5	2	
,,	Henry D. Boyle	3	1	
,,	Jas. H. Brooke	2	3	

Note B.

Officers of the Madras Artillery who served during the third Mysore war. N.B.—This list is not a complete one.

Rank.	Name.
Lieut.-Colonel ...	David Smith.
,,	George Saxon.
Major	Charles Carlisle, Commissary-General of Stores.
Captain	Robert Bell.
,, ...	Richard Howley.
,, ...	John Jourdan. Killed at Seringapatam, May 4th.

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Capt.-Lieutenant	Frederick Prescott, Deputy Commissary-General of Stores.
„	John W. Freese, Assistant Deputy Commissary-General of Stores.
Lieutenant ...	James Limond. With galloper guns, 19th Dragoons.
„	Michael Beauman, Commissary-General of Stores, Nizam's detachment.
„	Richard Charlton, Brigade-Major.
„	William Blair.
„	Webb Stone, Aide-de-camp to Colonel Smith.
„	Thomas Cookesley. Killed at Seringapatam, May 2nd.
Lieut.-Fireworker	George P. Blair.
„	J. D. Brown.
„	Alured Gibson.

Note C.

Officers of the Bombay Artillery who served during the third Mysore war. N.B.—This list is not a complete one.

Rank.	Name.
Lieutenant-Colonel	George A. Lawman.
Major	Jacob Thompson.
Captain	John Baillie.
„ ...	Alexander Torriano. Killed May 18th.
Lieutenant ...	James Eyles.
„ ...	A. G. Fisher.
„ ...	W. Macredie. Killed May 18th.
„ ...	George B. Bellasis.
„ ...	Charles J. Bond.

Note D.

Officers of Engineers who served during the third Mysore war :—

Rank.	Name.	
Colonel	William Gent	Madras
Lieutenant-Colonel	J. C. Sartorius	Bombay
Captain	John Norris	Madras
„	Colin Mackenzie	Madras
Lieutenant	John Johnson	Bombay
Ensign	William Garrard	Madras

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NOTE E.

Returns of the Artillery belonging to the Anglo-Indian army in Egypt, under command of Major-General David Baird, from July to October, 1801, from Walsh's "Journal of the Campaign."

	Disembarkment at Kosseir and Suez.						Alterations between July and October.					Disembarkation Return, dated Camp el Hamed, 5th October, 1801.						Remarks.
	European Commissioned Officers and Staff.	Native Commissioned Officers.	Warrant Officers.	Non-commissioned Officers, Rank and File.	Lascars of all ranks.	TOTAL.	Joined.	Died.	Discharged.	Deserted.	Invalided.	European Commanding Officers and Staff.	Native Commanding Officers.	Warrant Officers.	Non-commissioned Officers Rank and File.	Lascars of all ranks.	TOTAL.	
Royal Artillery ...	2	...	1	43	...	46	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	1	43	...	46	
Bengal Horse Artillery	2	1	1	75	55	134	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	1	74	55	133	1 Sergeant reduced and transferred as matross to Foot Artillery.
„ Foot „	4	1	1	81	94	181	...	1	...	...	...	4	1	1	82	93	181	1 Matross joined from Horse Artillery.
Madras „ „	5	...	...	91	157	253	...	5	...	...	6	4	...	...	89	148	241	Major Bell, Madras Artillery, not on returns 1st October.
Bombay „ „	6	...	2	141	171	320	3	31	5	1	5	6	...	2	129	138	275	
TOTAL	19	2	5	431	477	934	3	37	5	1	11	18	2	5	417	434	876	

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CHAPTER VII.

Minor operations, 1801-1803.—General Lake commander-in-chief —4th Company, 1st Battalion sent to China—5th Company, 1st Battalion sent to Bombay—Mud war—Sieges of Sásni, of Bijigarh, and of Kachaura.—MÁHRÁTÁ WAR — FIRST CAMPAIGN—War declared with Sindiah and Bhonslah—Assembly of different columns—OPERATIONS IN BANDELKHAND—Capture of Kálpi—Siege of Gwalior—Disaster at Bela—Colonel Martindell takes command—OPERATIONS IN KATTAK—Capture of Bárábatti—OPERATIONS NEAR MIRZAPUR—OPERATIONS IN GUZARÁT —OPERATIONS OF THE MAIN ARMY—Constitution of the force—Capture of ALIGARH—Battle of DELHI—Siege of AGRA—The great gun of Agra—Pursuit of the enemy—Battle of LASWÁRI —Horse Artillery join the army—Colonel Monson detached—Capture of Tonk Rámpura by Lieut.-Colonel Don—Advance —Commencement of retreat—Mokandara pass—Reinforcements at Tonk—Captain Hutchinson left at Rámpura with his company—Retreat continued—Heavy loss at the river Banás—Captain Winbolt drowned— Agra reached—CAPTAIN HUTCHINSON'S OPERATIONS—Capture of Zamina—Of Karáwal—Of Dhálra—Corporals Cross and Hislop honourably mentioned.

ON the 14th of March, 1801, Lieutenant-General Gerard Lake relieved Sir Alured Clarke from the office of commander-in-chief in India. 1801

The regiment of artillery was ordered shortly afterwards to supply two companies for foreign service. The 4th Company, 1st Battalion, commanded by Captain A. Fraser, was sent with an expedition against the Portuguese settlement of Macao, in China; Captain-Lieutenant A. Hind, Lieutenant G. Fuller, and Lieutenant-Fireworker C. H. Palmer* were with it. It was not, however, engaged 2-23 R.A.

* This officer is in the infantry in Dodwell and Miles' List, but belonged to the artillery. Conf. Muster Rolls, also his obituary notice (Asiat. Ann. Reg., vol. vi. for 1804, p. 177).

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1802 in any active service, and returned in November, 1802, after a year's absence. The 5th Company, 3rd Battalion was sent to Bombay at the same time. It was commanded by Captain Charles Wittit; the other officers being Captain-Lieutenant A. Dunn and Lieutenant-Fireworker S. S. Hay. After reaching Goa in January, and some moves, it was stationed at Tannah, its services being required by the Bombay Government.

Its proceedings subsequently are noticed further on.

The cession to the English Government of the large portion of the territories of the Vazir of Oudh, lying on the right bank of the Ganges, and its settlement, was not carried out without the employment of force.

Bhagwant Singh, the Tálukdár of Sásni, on the frontiers of the Etáwáh district, from being a small zemindár, had acquired considerable wealth and power by the arbitrary exactions he had been enabled to levy with impunity on all traders and travellers within his reach, and the possession of the two strong forts of Sásni and Bijigarh encouraged him to defy British authority. The operations in the North-West Provinces which ensued went by the name of the "Mud War," from the nature of the forts that it was necessary to reduce. Our officers, however, learned to look upon mud forts with respect, at least, before long.

A force was therefore assembled under Lieutenant-
December Colonel R. Blair, commanding at Khásganj, which amounted to four troops of native cavalry and four battalions of native infantry,* with four 18-pounder and ten 6-pounder guns, and four 18-pounder howitzers, and on the 12th of December took up a position two miles from Sásni. A further reinforcement of artillery, with

* Four troops, 3rd Native Cavalry, 1st and 2nd Battalions, 2nd Regiment, and 2nd Battalion, 12th Regiment N.I.

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two 18-pounder guns, and the 6th Native Cavalry, was sent. Major and Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel James Gordon was directed to assume command of the artillery, which consisted of the following companies, or detachments from them, and the officers whose names are subjoined:— 1802 December

1st Company, 2nd Battalion.—Captain George Constable. 3-23 R.A.

3rd Company, 2nd Battalion.—Captain William Shipton and Captain-Lieutenant R. Best. Reduced in 1825

4th Company, 2nd Battalion.—Captains James Robinson* and T. Greene, Lieutenants A. N. Matthews and H. D. Boyle. Reduced in 1825

Captain T. Wood, assisted by Ensign Macdougall, of the engineers, directed the siege operations.

Till the 27th the troops were employed in making fascines and gabions. On that day the trenches were opened at 800 yards; and a breaching battery opened fire on the morning of the 5th January, but at such a distance that the works of the fort, though damaged, were not sufficiently breached. On the 7th Sergeant Keyne, of the artillery, was killed in the trenches; and Lieutenant Boyle was dangerously wounded by a round shot on the 8th, and died on the 24th. An assault was ordered for the morning of the 15th, under Major George Ball, N.I., though the breaches had not been rendered practicable; but the ditch was deeper than had been calculated on, and the scaling-ladders, sinking in the moist sand, were too short, and the party had to retire with the loss of 10 killed and 29 wounded. The 4th Regiment Native Cavalry, five companies H.M.'s 76th 1803 January

* This officer's name appears in all the accounts of the war and throughout General Lake's despatches during the next campaign, except in one place, as *Robinson*; in the General Military Register and other Army Lists of the time as *Robertson*, a spelling confirmed by Sir G. Pollock on my referring it to him. But in the Muster Rolls he signs himself *Robinson*.

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1803 January Regiment, and the 2nd Battalion 15th N.I., were already being sent up under Major-General the Hon. Frederick St. John; but the commander-in-chief, hearing of the failure of the assault, marched immediately from Kanoj with Colonel R. Macan and the 1st Regiment Native Cavalry, and reached Sásni on the 31st.

February The approaches were carried forward, and a new battery commenced 200 yards nearer, where the scarp of the *raoni* * could be seen sufficiently low for effective breaching. On the 8th the town was carried by a detachment under Major D. Ochterlony, without any loss; and on the night of the 11th the Rájá, with a large part of the garrison, evacuated the fort, passing in the darkness through the line of picquets, and fled to Bijigarh.

To this place three regiments of cavalry were sent next day; and the commander-in-chief followed with the rest of the army on the 13th, leaving a garrison in Sásni. Materials were collected as fast as unfavourable weather would permit; and on the morning of the 21st the batteries opened fire with good effect, and a practicable breach was made by the evening of the 27th. The assault was ordered for the next morning. Constant rain and storms of wind had delayed these operations, and served also to assist the garrison in their evacuation of the place, which they effected during the night. The principal leaders escaped, but considerable numbers of their followers were killed or taken prisoners, in forcing their way through the picquets.

The regiment of artillery suffered a great loss here, in the death of Lieut.-Colonel James Gordon, who was killed with several sepoys and gun lascars, while going round the fort next morning, by the explosion of a powder magazine, the work, it was supposed, of one of

* Covered way.

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the Rájá's people. The commander-in-chief, in his despatch dated this day to the chief secretary to Government, records that to this officer he was "particularly indebted for his exertions, directed by uncommon zeal and ability;" and the Governor-General in a subsequent order repeated "his regret at the loss which the public service had sustained." * 1803 February

Another zemindár, Adhikarin, holding the fort of Kachaura, also of considerable strength, on being required to yield its possession promised submission, but without any intention of given it up; and having fired upon our troops, the army was reassembled before the place on the 5th of March; and on the 12th the batteries under command of Captain Thomas Greene opened, and a good breach was nearly completed before night. Between 7 and 8 o'clock p.m. the garrison rushed out, intending to force their way, but were attacked and pursued with great slaughter for four miles. Major Nairne, 6th Native Cavalry, an officer of much merit, with Cornet Pollock, 1st Native Cavalry, were killed, and three officers, all of the same branch, were wounded on this service. Captain G. Constable, of the 1st Company, 2nd Battalion, is said to have been wounded by the graze of a round shot,[1] but his name does not appear as a casualty in the despatches. March

* The author of a series of papers in the *East India United Service Journal*, under the title of "Military Autobiography" (vol. ii. for 1834, p. 463), states that Colonel Gordon had always been impressed with the belief that he would be killed the first time he went into action, and, it was supposed, had always avoided putting himself in the way of a fulfilment of this presentiment. But the esteem in which he appears to have been held argues him to have been too good a soldier to give way to such a feeling, if ever it existed.

[1] "East India Military Calendar," vol. i. p. 58.

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MÁHRÁTÁ WAR—FIRST CAMPAIGN.

1803 The opening of the year 1803 found the Governor-General endeavouring to prevent a union, hostile to the British power, of the three Máhrátá chiefs, Ragoji Bhonslah of Berár, Sindiah, and Jaswant Ráo Holkar. As the months wore on, and negotiations failed to effect anything, the Marquis Wellesley proceeded to carry out the plans he had arranged with the commander-in-chief. Forces were accordingly assembled:

1. At Allahabad under Lieut.-Colonel Powell.
2. At the presidency for Kattak, under Lieut.-Colonel Harcourt.
3. At Mirzapur, under Major-General G. Deare, Artillery.
4. At Baroda, under Lieut.-Colonel Woodington.
5. At Cawnpore, under the personal command of General Lake.
6. At Harihar in the Dakhan, under Major-General the Hon. A. Wellesley.

With the first five were portions of the Bengal Artillery, and we may take them in the above order, leaving the operations of the main body in Bengal under the commander-in-chief for the last.

OPERATIONS IN BANDELKHAND.

The force assembled at Allahabad under Lieutenant-Colonel Powell was intended to operate on Bandelkhand, and obtain possession of certain territory which had been ceded, under the treaty of Bassein, by the Peshwah. It consisted of four battalions of native infantry, with their guns, and a park, at first, of only two 12-pounders, four 6-pounders, and two howitzers. The 1st and 2nd

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Companies of the 3rd Battalion were with this force, and 1803
the following officers of artillery:—

Major Charles Wittit, commanding.

1ST COMPANY.—Capt.-Lieutenant W. Feade and Lieutenant B-16 R.A.
W. Richards.*

2ND COMPANY.—Capt.-Lieutenant T. Dowall and Lieutenant C-16 R.A.
W. Hopper.†

It crossed the Jumna on the 6th of September; and September
after uniting with Rájá Himmat Bahádur and reducing several forts between that river and the Ken, crossed the latter on the 13th of October, and next morning defeated October
the Nawáb Shamsher, taking from him two small guns, and compelling him to evacuate this side of Bandelkhand, which thenceforward became part of the Company's territory. After nearly two months had been spent in fruitless negotiations, Colonel Powell moved forward and December
attacked Kálpi, on the Jumna. A battery of two 18-pounders and a howitzer opened fire, and on the 4th of December the place capitulated; and Shamsher Bahádur shortly after made his submission.

Another chief, Ambaji Ráo, who held under Sindiah, having made an offer of his allegiance to the British, a treaty was concluded provisionally with him on the 16th of December, by which the fortress of Gwalior and fort of Gohad, with certain districts, were made over; and in consequence Lieut.-Colonel White was detached, on the 21st of December, from the main army, with a force of native infantry, to take possession of these places. He was joined by a portion of the force in Bandelkhand, with the 1st Company, 3rd Battalion, with which were B-16 R.A.
Capt.-Lieutenant W. Feade and Lieutenant W. Richards.

* Captain Tomkyns, of this battery, had just gone home on furlough. He retired in May, 1806.

† Lieutenant Marmaduke Browne, of this company, does not appear to have been with it in Bandelkhand, but with the grand army. He succeeded Lieutenant Butler as adjutant of the artillery with it.

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1803 December — The Kiladár of Gwalior, however, objected to resign his important charge, as was probably intended. Lieut.-Colonel White therefore seized and kept possession of the town, from which point he intended to attack it, and wrote to the commander-in-chief, who complied with his requisition by sending a force of about 2000 native infantry, the flank companies of the European regiment, and a strong battering train with Captain Greene's company, the 1st of the 1st Battalion. Lieutenants S. S. Hay and R. Morris were with it. Lieut.-Colonel St. George Ashe commanded this reinforcement.

See PLATE III. Chap. II.

1-23 R.A.

1804 Jan.–Feb. — On its arrival batteries were erected, and, notwithstanding the difficulties which the elevation of the wall above their level interposed, a breach was made; and on

February — the 4th of February, as the storming party was about to be formed, the garrison unexpectedly surrendered, and for a second time Gwalior fell into our hands in fair fight. Lieutenant W. Richards was severely wounded during the course of the siege.[1]

The following is an extract from the commander-in-chief's general order on this occasion:—

"Camp near Saraut, February 10th, 1804.

". . . . The Commander-in-Chief is particularly happy to notice the valuable services of the Artillery employed at Gwalior; and the great effect produced by the fire of the batteries, under circumstances peculiarly unfavourable, reflects the highest credit on the abilities of Captain Green (*sic*) and the officers and men under his command."

The 1st Company, 1st Battalion returned, after the surrender of Gohad, which immediately followed, to the North-West Provinces; but Lieutenant Morris was transferred to Captain Feade's company, with which he went back to Bandelkhand.

May — In May, Amir Khán, a soldier of fortune then in

[1] "East India Military Calendar," iii. p. 108.

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Holkar's pay, invaded Bandelkhand. Colonel W. D. Fawcett, who now commanded the force there, Colonel Powell having left on account of his health, was encamped at Kunch, a town about twelve miles north of the river Betwah. 1804 May

A detachment of seven companies of native infantry under Captain J. N. Smith, and fifty artillerymen from the 1st and 2nd Companies, 3rd Battalion, under Capt.-Lieutenant W. Feade and Lieutenant Morris, were sent against the small fort of Bela, about eight miles from Kunch. This small force was further reduced temporarily by the despatch of three companies to protect the neighbouring town of Kotra, on the river. The guns opened on the 21st of May. The Kiladár offered to surrender next morning if the firing were discontinued. This offer was accepted; but information meantime was sent to Amir Khán, who was at hand, and who accordingly, with about 8000 cavalry, fell upon the unfortunate party in the trenches, destroying the whole and capturing the guns. None of the artillery escaped. Captain Smith in camp, which on account of the scarcity of water was two miles further from the fort, was also attacked; but he managed, with the remainder of his detachment and a troop of the 5th Native Cavalry, and one gun, to make good his retreat upon the main body. Thus, by wretched mismanagement—first, by the separation of a small force from its head-quarters without any adequate communication being maintained; secondly, by its division into still smaller bodies, inviting attack in detail; and thirdly, by the retreat of Captain Smith without any effort to support the party in the trenches—two companies of sepoys, 50 artillerymen, and 5 pieces of ordnance were lost.*

* Two 12-pounders, one 6-pounder, and two howitzers, besides tumbrils. Mr. (Sir Philip) Francis, in moving in the House of Commons

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1804 May — Colonel Fawcett, alarmed by this occurrence, retired upon the river Betwa—a movement which very much annoyed the commander-in-chief, as it left Bandelkhand open to the enemy, and thereby weakened the support (though in any case it would have been a distant one) which his presence there was to have afforded Brigadier-General Monson, who had lately been detached to Rájputána. He was therefore removed from the command,* to which Colonel Gabriel Martindell was appointed, and June the force again moved forward to clear the province. On July the 1st of July it attacked and defeated the Rám Rájá, who with a large body of Nagas had taken up a position at Parswári, in the district of Mahoba. The fort of Jaitpur was taken on the 28th. It is not necessary to pursue the doings in this province further for the present. Bandelkhand was not brought into complete subjection for several years, and much hard work fell on the troops stationed in it. Further proceedings will be found in Chapter IX.

Operations in Kattak.

1803 — The expedition against Kattak was intended to prevent the Rájá of Berár from co-operating fully with Sindiah, by attacking him from an opposite quarter, and

(21st January, 1805) for papers on the subject of this war, referred to this affair and remarked, "The loss of the sepoys is to be lamented; that of the artillerymen is invaluable." The old enemy of Colonel Pearse and Hastings had come to view the corps with more favourable eyes than of yore. Lord Castlereagh, in replying, said that the conduct of Captain J. N. Smith was the subject of a military court of inquiry. As this officer remained in the service, it is to be supposed that he brought forward extenuating circumstances in his defence.

* It appears that General Lake had wished to appoint Lieut.-Colonel C. Wittit, of the artillery, to this command, in succession to Colonel Powell; but the state of his health prevented his taking it. He died in camp, on the 27th of May, 1804, very much regretted on both public and private grounds.

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to annex a valuable district with a seaport to which it might have been added, depriving the Rájá of the prestige attaching to the patron of Jagannáth, whose far-famed temple would be transferred, with the ground on which it stood, to British rule. 1803

The province was to be attacked from Ganjam, in the south of Bengal, by a force under Lieut.-Colonel Campbell; but the health of this officer having failed, Lieut.-Colonel Harcourt, H.M.'s 12th Regiment, and military secretary to the Governor-General, was sent to take command.

His force consisted of two companies H.M.'s 22nd Regiment, Madras European Regiment, the 20th Bengal, 9th and 19th Madras N.I. with 50 cavalry, 50 Bengal and 12 Madras artillerymen. The Bengal Artillery consisted of the lately raised 7th Company of the 1st Battalion—a detachment of native infantry was sent from Calcutta—21 artillerymen, and a battering train of four 18-pounders, four 12-pounder iron guns, and two 5½-inch howitzers. D.16 R.A

Besides these, another detachment of native infantry with four field-pieces, under Captain Morgan, was sent to occupy Balasore; while a third, under Lieut.-Colonel Ferguson, to which was added 84 men of the Governor-General's body-guard, with two gallopers and 22 artillerymen, was formed at Jelasore for the purpose of co-operating with, and joining if possible, Captain Morgan's force.

On the 14th of September Lieut.-Colonel Harcourt secured, without resistance, the fort of Mánikpatam. Thence he proceeded to Jagannáth, and thence to Kattak, which was occupied without opposition on the 10th of October. The fort of Bárábatti, close by, was invested on the 12th; and a battery of one 12 and two 6-pounder guns and two howitzers opened fire on the morning of September October

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1803 October — the 14th, silencing the enemy's guns by 11 o'clock in the forenoon. A storming party under Lieutenant-Colonel Clayton, 20th Bengal N.I., was ordered to advance with a single 6-pounder under Lieutenant E. Faithfull. Capt.-Lieutenant R. Hetzler also accompanied the latter. The fort was surrounded by a ditch of irregular width, with about twenty feet of water in it, over which a narrow bridge led to the only entrance. This gate had been strengthened by masses of stone piled up. The wicket was, however, blown open under a heavy fire, and the stormers entered singly through the breach thus made; and after considerable opposition the place was taken. Both the artillery officers were honourably mentioned in Lieut.-Colonel Harcourt's despatch, and afterwards by the Governor-General in the orders issued.

Operations near Mirzapur.

The detachment under Major-General Deare was more a corps of observation than anything else. Lieut.-Colonel Broughton commanded, in conjunction with it, another at Sambhalpur. Both were usefully if not brilliantly employed in securing these districts from marauding bands of Máhrátás.

Operations in Guzarát.

A-8 R.A. — In Guzarát, the 5th Company, 3rd Battalion of Artillery, which, as mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, had been sent to Bombay in 1801, formed part of a force under Lieut.-Colonel Woodington, which on August the 29th of August, 1803, stormed and took the fort of Bharoch, at the mouth of the river Nerbudda, after a vigorous resistance. This valuable seaport, with the surrounding territory, passed into our hands. Capt.-Lieutenant A. Dunn and Lieutenant J. P. Drummond

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were with the company at this time. The force was afterwards employed in the Champanir district, where it reduced the fort of Powánghar in September. 1803

Operations of the Main Army.

The main body was placed under the commander-in-chief, General G. Lake. Its object was to seize on all the possessions of Sindiah lying between the Jumna and Ganges; to destroy the French power and influence centred there; to take the Emperor Sháh Álam under British protection; to establish influential relations with the Rájput and other minor states beyond the Jumna; and, in combination with the operations in Bandelkhand, to strengthen the frontier against Máhrátá aggression, by the possession of such places as Agra and Gwalior.[1]

M. Perron held under Sindiah a large territory, from the revenues of which he kept up an army in the service of the Máhárájá. But he was, in fact, almost independent. Aligarh was his principal fort, and its reduction was a primary object before Delhi could be reached.

The force which General Lake at first had under him was comprised of the following corps:—

Cavalry.	27th Light Dragoons
	2nd Native Cavalry
	3rd ,,
	6 galloper guns
Infantry.	76th Regiment
	1st and 2nd Battalion 2nd N.I.
	1st and 2nd ,, 4th ,,
	2nd ,, 12th ,,
	1st ,, 14th ,,
	1st and 2nd ,, 15th ,,
	4 companies 2nd ,, 17th ,,
	16th Battalion guns

[1] Marquis Wellesley to Lieut.-General Lake, June 28th, 1803, with note.

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1803 ARTILLERY.*

Lieut.-Colonel J. Horsford, commanding.
Lieut. E. W. Butler,† Brigade-Major.
,, M. W. Browne (Adjutant 2nd Batt.) Brigade Qr.-Master

1-23 R.A	1st	Company,	1st Battalion	...	Captain T. Greene.
A-19 ,,	2nd	,,	,,	...	,, G. Raban.
1-22 ,,	3rd	,,	,,	...	,, J. Nelly.
3-23 ,,	1st	,,	2nd Battalion	...	,, G. Constable.
Reduced in 1825	2nd	,,	,,	...	,, C. Hutchinson.
Reduced in 1825	3rd	,,	,,	...	,, W. Shipton.
Reduced in 1825	4th	,,	,,	...	,, J. Robinson.

General Lake left Cawnpore on the 7th of August, and reached Koil, close to Aligarh, on the 28th. Next day he attacked M. Perron, who was posted behind a jheel, his right resting on the fort. The attack was made by the cavalry and galloper guns in two lines, supported by the infantry with their battalion guns. The enemy retired without offering any very serious opposition, and M. Perron left M. Pedron with instructions to hold the fort to the last. The general tried to obtain entrance by negotiations and money, but not succeeding, he determined to storm, in preference to adopting the slower
September method of a regular siege. On the 3rd of September the Hon. Lieut.-Colonel Monson was appointed to command a column for this purpose, consisting of—

Four companies 76th Regiment, under Major Macleod.
1st Battalion 4th N.I., under Lieut.-Colonel Browne.
Four companies 17th N.I., under Captain Bagshawe.
Two 12-pounder guns, under Captain W. Shipton.

* For the names of all the officers, see Note C.

† There is much confusion in different accounts regarding the appointments held by Lieutenants Butler and Browne; but after comparing all the authorities I could get together, it seems that Lieutenant Browne, who belonged to the 2nd Company, 3rd Battalion January 1st, 1805 (muster rolls), was nevertheless adjutant and quarter-master to the 2nd Battalion in the field, and also brigade quarter-master to the artillery. Lieutenant Butler was promoted in the end of 1804; and it is most probable that he was succeeded by Lieutenant Browne as brigade-major, though he still retained his appointment in the 2nd Battalion till March, 1806, when he became brigade-major to the regiment.

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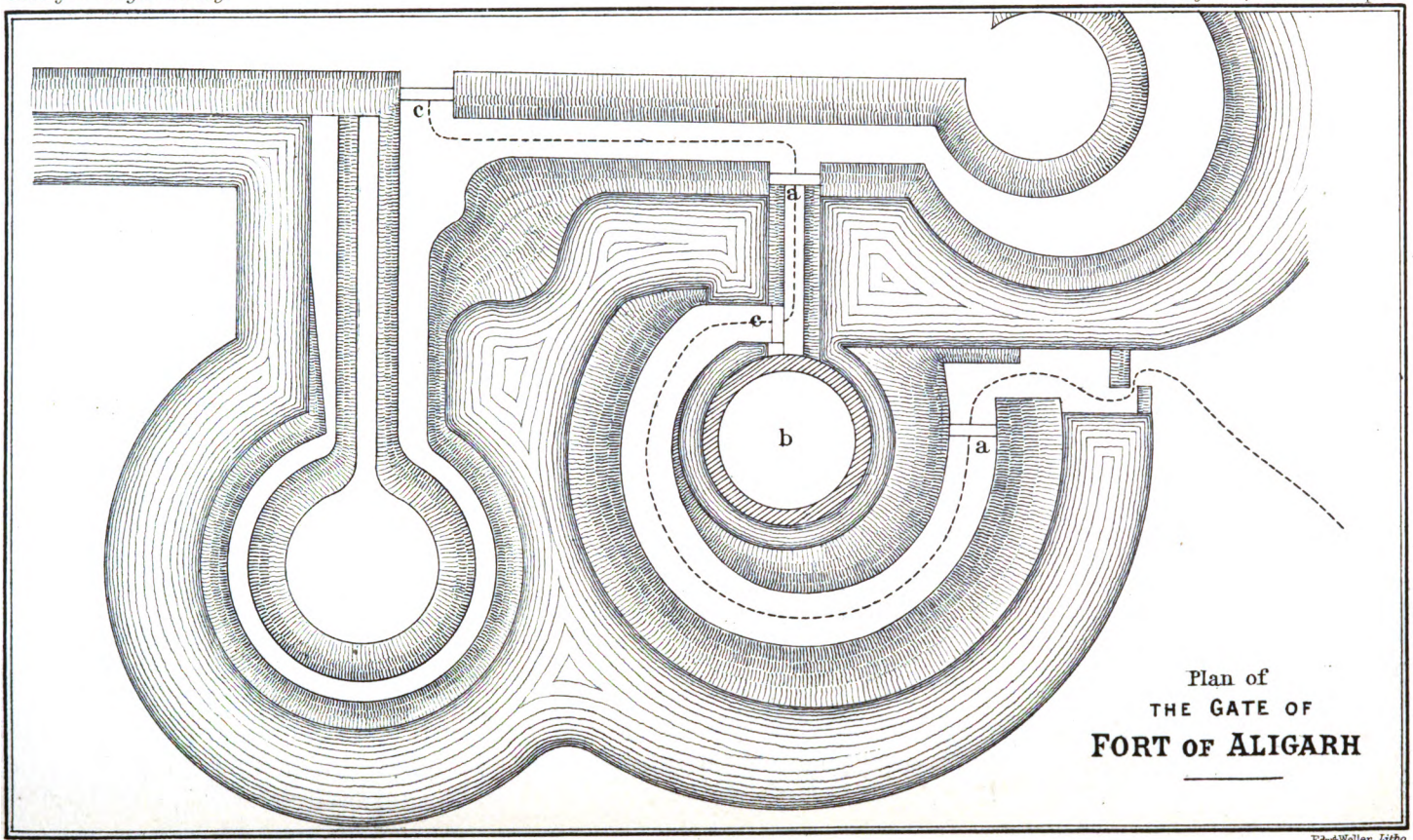

Plan of
THE GATE OF
FORT OF ALIGARH

London: Henry S. King & Co. 65. Cornhill

Edwd Weller, Litho.

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The advance was to be covered by two batteries of four 18-pounders each, for which positions had been selected by Lieut.-Colonel Horsford. Captains Greene and Robinson commanded them. The party moved out before daylight on the 4th, to within 400 yards of the fort, and on the firing of the morning gun advanced, covered by the 18-pounders. On reaching the first gate (*a*, see accompanying sketch), it was found to be closed. They had scaling ladders with them, but these were too short, and an attempt was made with one of the battalion guns to force an entrance; but this too failing, Captain Shipton, with the 12-pounders, was called up from the rear. During the time thus spent, the party suffered severely from the close and heavy fire of the enemy's wall-pieces and matchlocks. Captain Shipton was wounded, but persisted in maintaining his place; and the gate was forced. The storming party then proceeded along a *raoni*, or *fausse-braie*, round a masonry tower (*b*) which was filled with matchlock-men, and the two next gateways (*c* and *d*) were blown open without much difficulty. The fourth, however (*e*), was too strong, and the massive timbers refused to yield to repeated discharges of the gun. The wicket was, however, forced open, and through it the stormers passed, headed by Major Macleod, both the senior officers having been disabled; and thus, after an hour's hard fighting, the fort was captured. The casualties among the artillery, besides Captain Shipton, were two Europeans and four lascars killed; seven Europeans and one lascar wounded. In his despatch General Lake says:— 1803 September

"To Major Macleod, who gallantly led the 76th Regiment after Colonel Monson had been wounded, and to Captain Shipton, of the artillery, who had charge of the guns that forced the gate, both of whom, though wounded, still remained at their posts, I feel myself much indebted. To Colonel Horsford, who commanded

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1803 September

the artillery, as well as to Captains Robinson and Green (*sic*), who commanded the covering batteries, I feel myself under infinite obligations; and, indeed, the whole corps merit my warmest praise for the gallantry displayed on this occasion, as well as on every other in which they have been engaged." [1]

A large quantity of ordnance and stores were captured in this place, and Capt.-Lieutenant R. Best, of the 3rd Company, 2nd Battalion, was left here in charge. The ordnance consisted of—

Brass guns, 20-pounders and under ...	33
Iron do. various calibres	60
Brass howitzers, 6-inch	4
do. brass mortars, 11 and 9⅕-inch ...	2
Iron wall-pieces	182
	281

After leaving Aligarh, intelligence was received that a large body of horse, under M. Fleury, had attacked Shikoábád, and that its garrison—five companies of native infantry under Lieutenant-Colonel Coningham—had been obliged to capitulate. Captain-Lieutenant W. Winbolt, of the 2nd Company, 1st Battalion, who was attached with one gun, was wounded. The whole were sent to to Cawnpore. In consequence of this, Colonel Macan, with the 29th Light Dragoons and some native cavalry, and the 2nd Brigade of infantry under Colonel Clarke, were sent to reinforce Colonel Vandeleur, who was in the neighbourhood of Fatehgarh with a convoy for the army.

The main body did not meet with any opposition on its march towards Delhi; but, on the morning of the 11th, after a march of 18 miles, on arriving at their ground the enemy was seen in front near the village of Patparganj, between the river Jumna and its confluent, the Hindan. The commander-in-chief, having moved forward to reconnoitre with all the cavalry, found that, both flanks being covered by swamps, they were only

See PLATE XIV.

[1] G. G. O. Fort William, 15th September, 1803.

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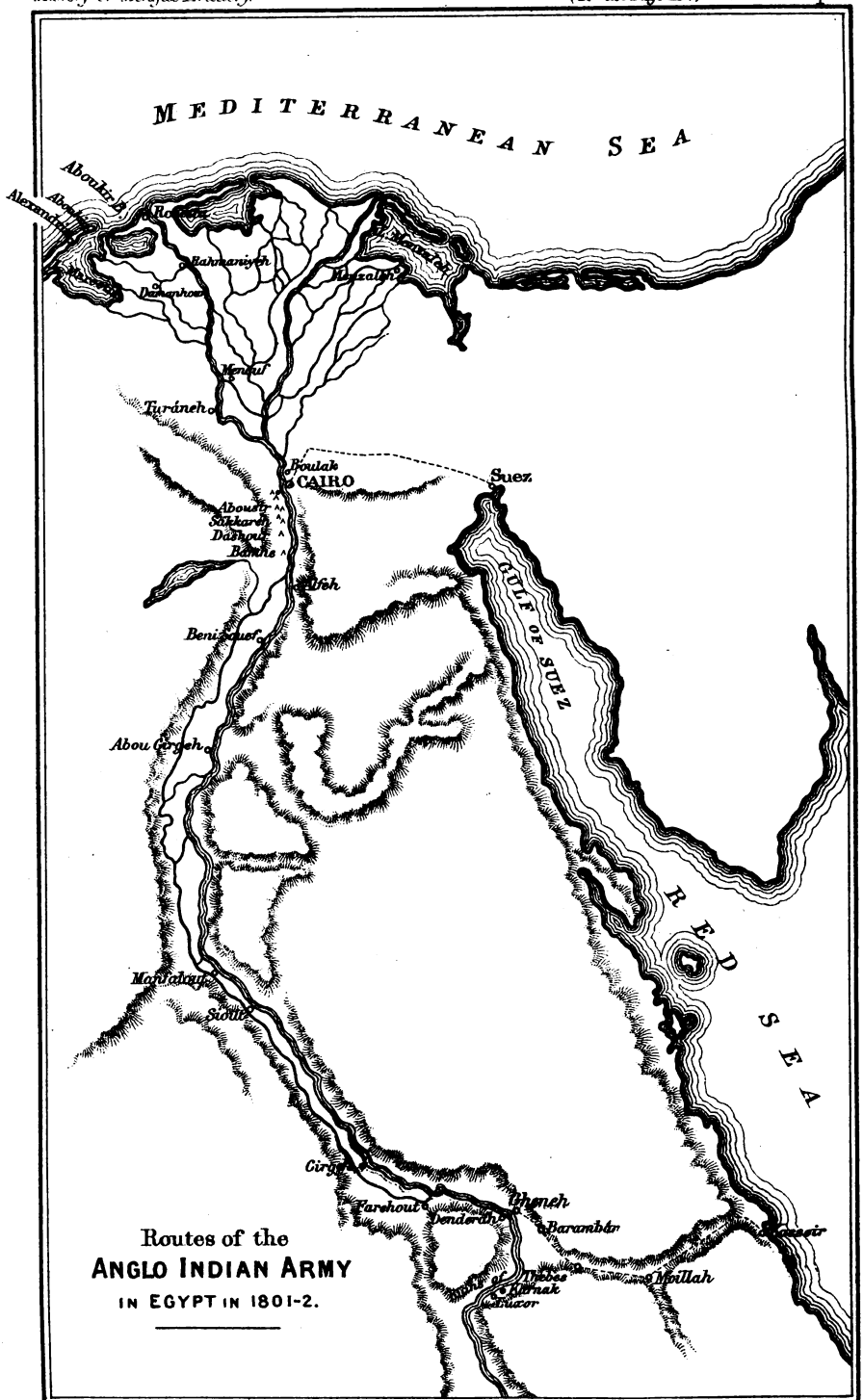

Routes of the
ANGLO INDIAN ARMY
IN EGYPT IN 1801-2.

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Edwd Weller, Litho.

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assailable in front by any movement that could have been made that day, and this was strongly entrenched and defended by a greatly superior weight of ordnance to ours. The odds were too long to take up; so Lake, ordering up the infantry and artillery in line with it, retired with the cavalry and their galloper guns, after having kept up with the latter a fire for some time. This, as was hoped, was taken for a retreat of the whole; and the enemy, moving out of their position, advanced with tumultuous shouts, dragging their guns after them. The cavalry retired through the intervals of the infantry, which advanced, led by the general, under a very heavy fire of round, chain, and grape shot, now opened upon them. Steadily, with their muskets still at the shoulder, they went on till within a hundred yards, when they brought them down, fired a volley, and charged home. The enemy broke and fled. Cavalry now and gallopers went again to the front to finish the work so well begun. Colonel Horsford was detached, with four guns and the 1st—2nd N.I., to a village on the left (*a*, Plate XIV.). The left wing changed front to the left and followed the fugitives down to the river bed, while the right moved on towards the ford over the Jumna. A body of Sikh cavalry (*b*) threatened the right, but were held in check by a regiment of the same arm with gallopers. 1803 September

The victory was complete; 68 pieces of ordnance remained on the field and were captured. But our loss was heavy—197 Europeans and 288 natives. Of these the artillery share was small, viz.:—Killed: 1 sergeant, 1 corporal, 1 matross, and 1 lascar. Wounded: Lieutenant (Brevet-Captain) A. N. Matthews,* 1 sergeant,

* He lost his leg by a round shot, and was appointed next year fort-adjutant at Agra, subsequently deputy commissary of ordnance at Fatehgarh, which appointment he was allowed to retain after promotion, as a special case.—G. G. O. 15th May, 1806.

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1803 September 1 corporal, 2 gunners, 8 matrosses, 2 serangs, and 13 lascars. Missing: 1 gunner and 1 lascar.—Total, 34.

The iron guns were of European, the brass of native manufacture, but built on French models. Thirteen 4-pounders had iron bores formed of four longitudinal pieces welded remarkably closely together, over which the brass was cast. All were furnished with well-made elevating screws, some of the latest French improvements, and constructed in the howitzers and mortars to give them a high elevation, and render them capable of being used in either capacity. The tumbrils of the clumsy shape in use twenty years before; some with the modern draft-chain, some with the primæval trace of green hide.*

In his despatch to the Governor-General, General Lake thus mentioned the corps:—

"To Colonel Horsford and every officer of artillery, I feel myself infinitely indebted for their meritorious exertion on this occasion."

To which the former added:—

"The public testimony of approbation which that meritorious corps has uniformly deserved in every exigency of the service."[1]

This victory was followed by the installation on the throne of his ancestors of the blind Emperor of Delhi, which having been done, the commander-in-chief, on the 24th, continued his march towards Agra. At Muttra October he was joined by Colonel Vandeleur, with his convoy and a large reinforcement; and the whole force, according to *See* PLATE XV. its brigading, stood as shown in the annexed plan.

The whole force then moved on, and reached Agra on the 4th of October, the heavy stores proceeding by boats down the Jumna. South-east of the city, enclosed

* From a report by Colonel Horsford.

[1] G. G. O. Fort William, 1st October, 1803.

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ORDER OF BATTLE OF THE ARMY COMMANDED BY H.E. GENERAL G. LAKE IN THE MAHRATTA WAR OF 1803.

Hon. Major Gen.l St. John _ Commanding Left Wing.

2 Batt. 8 N.I. — Major Bassett
1 Batt. 12 N.I. — Lt. Col. Palmer
2 Batt. 9 N.I. — Lt. Col. Adkins
6 Co.s 16 N.I. — Lt. Col. White

2nd Brigade _ Col. Clarke Commd.g

1 Batt. 2 N.I. — Major Kenyon
1 Batt. 14 N.I. — Lt. Col. McCulloch
2 Batt. 2 N.I. — Lt. Col. Blair

4th Brigade Lt. Col. Powell Commd.g

Capt. T. Green _ Commd.g Artillery Left Wing.

Major Gen.l Ware _ Commanding Right Wing.

1 Batt. 15 N.I. — Major Forbes
2 Batt. 15 N.I. — Major Haldane
2 Batt. 12 N.I. — Major Ochterlony / Major R.R. Gregory

3rd Brigade Col. Mc. Donald Commd.g

2 Batt. 4 N.I. — Major Edwards
4 Co.s 17 N.I. — Capt. Bagshaw
H.M. 76 Regt. — Major Mc. Leod
1 Batt. 4 N.I. — Lt. Col. Brown

1st Brigade Hon. Lt. Col. Monson Commd.g

Capt. J. Robertson _ Commd.g Artillery Right Wing.

Park

Lieut. Col. J. Horsford _ Commd.g Art.y
Adjutant Lieut. E. W. Butler.
Quarter Master M. W. Browne.

Engineers & Pioneers.
Capt. Wood Commd.g
Lieut.s Swinton & Forrest.

Col. St. Leger _ Commd.g Cavalry.

29 Lt. Drag. — Hon. Lt. Col. Carleton
4 N. Cav. — Lt. Col. McGregor

Col. Macan Commd.g 3rd Brigade

3 N. Cav. — Maj. Middleton
8 R.I. Drag. — Lt. Col. J. Vandeleur
1 N. Cav. — Lt. Col. Gordon

Col. T. P. Vandeleur _ Commd.g 1st Brigade.

6 N. Cav. — Major Mounsey
27 Lt. Drag. — Lt. Col. Need
2 N. Cav. — Lt. Col. Brown

Col. St. Leger _ Commd.g 2nd Brigade.

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with a high red sandstone wall, stands the fort, the palace of the Emperor Akbar, still rich in associations and illustrations of the period when the Mogul power was at its highest. Its walls were, from their height, safe from escalade ; and though the fire of a breaching battery would have cut away the sandstone-revêted walls externally without difficulty, yet a practicable entrance would not easily have been made. The "ruby-encircled fort, built up to heaven,"* looked down from a little distance upon a square garden, in the middle of which rose conspicuous domes and minarets of white marble, the gem of Indian architecture, commonly known as the Táj Mahal, the tomb of Arjmand Bánu Begam, consort of Sháh Jahán. Between this and the city, the ground was thinly diversified with trees, but plentifully broken with ravines extending some distance from the river. These ravines, while they favoured the approaches to the fort, also gave cover to a body of the enemy, who occupied the city and its vicinity to the south-west and south from the fort, close to which they had a large number of guns. To dislodge these was a necessary preliminary; and the general, who had but one regiment of European infantry,† which, having

1803 October

* From an inscription in the fort, giving the date, etc., of its being built.

† General Lake wrote several letters to the Governor-General, to urge on the Court of Directors an increased European force in India. He says, in his report of this day's work: "The sepoys have behaved excessively well; but, from my observation this day as well as every other, it is impossible to do great things in a gallant and quick style without Europeans. Therefore, if they do not in England think it necessary to send British troops in the proportion of one to three sepoy regiments, which is in fact one to six,[1] they will stand a good chance of losing their possessions, if a French force get footing in India." Lieut.-General Lake to Marquis Wellesley, 10th October, 1803; "Wellesley Despatches," No. cix. vol. iii. p. 396. See also No. xciii. dated 17th September, same vol. p. 320.

[1] The sepoy regiments were double ones, of two battalions each.

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1803 October already suffered severely, he was obliged to spare as much as possible, directed a simultaneous attack to be made upon the city by Colonel Clarke's brigade and five companies 16th N.I., under Lieut.-Colonel White; and also upon the lodgments in the ravines by three battalions under Lieut.-Colonel McCulloch, Major Haldane, and Captain Worsley. The enemy fought for their ground with determination; and though both objects were gained, it was at a heavy loss. They were driven from the ravines; and in capturing the guns on the glacis, which was gallantly done under a fire of musketry and grape from the fort, the sepoys suffered severely. Lieutenants Francis Beaghan and Samuel Sinclair Hay were honourably mentioned.

"The intrepidity and courage evinced by Lieutenant Beaghan, of the artillery, employed in the assault, calls for his Excellency's warmest approbation and thanks."[1]

"Lieutenant Hay, of the artillery, who went with a detachment of that corps to bring off the enemy's guns, merits my approbation for his successful exertions in this service."[2]

The casualties of the artillery on this day were:—Killed: 1 gunner. Wounded: Lieutenant F. Beaghan, (died the 20th of December), 1 gunner, 7 matrosses, 1 havildar, 2 tindals, and 7 gun lascars.

Lieutenants W. Parker, F. Beaghan, and S. S. Hay had joined the army shortly before this.

The siege was now pushed on vigorously; by the morning of the 17th, a breaching battery of eight 18-pounders and four howitzers, at 350 yards, with an enfilading battery of four 12-pounders on its left, and one of two 12-pounders on its right, were completed, and

[1] This extract is not in the published despatches; it is taken from Buckle's Memoir.

[2] General Lake's despatch, dated 10th October, published in G. G. O. 21st October, 1803.

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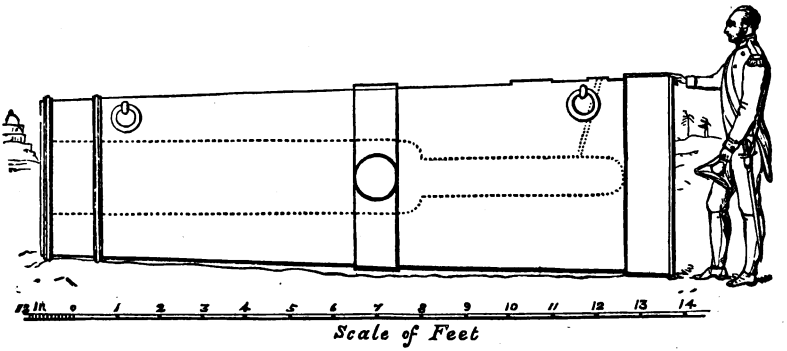
commenced their fire. The same night the garrison capitulated, and next day, the 18th, marched out at noon. The rapidity of this success was attributed by General Lake to the impression made by the breaching battery on the walls, and by the garrison themselves to the impression made by the round shot and shell on their fears. In his report the commander-in-chief says :— 1803 October

"To Colonel Horsford, of the artillery, and Captain Wood, of the corps of engineers, as well as to every officer in those two corps, I feel myself under great obligations for their unremitted exertions on this occasion, and to which I attribute my early success against this place." [1]

A large quantity of stores and ammunition, as well as treasure, was found in the fort. The ordnance was of a very miscellaneous description.* The monster bronze gun taken here, and called the "great gun of Agra," was to have been sent down the river to Calcutta; but the attempt to transport it failed, and it lay upon



SKETCH OF THE GREAT GUN OF AGRA.

the banks of the Jumna until, twenty years after, it was broken up and sold.† The prize-money here realized

* See Note A in the appendix to this chapter.

† See Note B.

[1] Commander-in-chief to Marquis Wellesley, dated 18th October, 1803, published in G. G. O. Fort William, 28th October, 1803.

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1803 October

amounted to the large sum of twenty-four lákh of rupees.

Thus the army, by the activity and courage of its leader, qualities contagious in themselves, had, in the few weeks intervening between the 29th of August and the 17th of October, accomplished all the instructions of the Governor-General, and every object he first had in view.[1] But more remained to be done. Although the confederated chiefs had lost valuable territory, and had seen their armies routed in every conflict; although Sindiah's European officers had resigned his service, or been taken prisoners; while, on the side of the Dakhan, the splendid successes of Major-General Wellesley humiliated them, and added an enduring lustre to the British name; there was still a formidable force in the field. It was composed of some brigades of Sindiah, which had been detached from the southward, and the remains of the force that had opposed Lake. The care that had been bestowed upon them by the French officers was shown on the field of Laswári, when without their leaders they still retained some of the discipline that they had learned.

On the 27th, therefore, the commander-in-chief marched from Agra in a west-south-west direction, and, leaving his heavy guns and baggage at Fatehpur Sikri, moved on by forced marches as here detailed from routes formerly in the office of the quarter-master general.[2] On arrival at Dudaoli, a village about three miles south-

			Miles.
Oct.	28.	Karádi	12¾
„	29.	Fatehpur Sikri	14¼
„	30.	Sinlini *	19¼
„	31.	Dudaoli	20
Nov.	1.	Mohalpur	23

* This is apparently a village named on the Indian atlas (sheet No. 50) Sinphiní, about seven miles west-south-west from Bhurtpore.

[1] Papers presented to the House of Commons, p. 251.

[2] Published in the appendix to Henley's "Code of Bengal Military Regulations." Calcutta, 1812.

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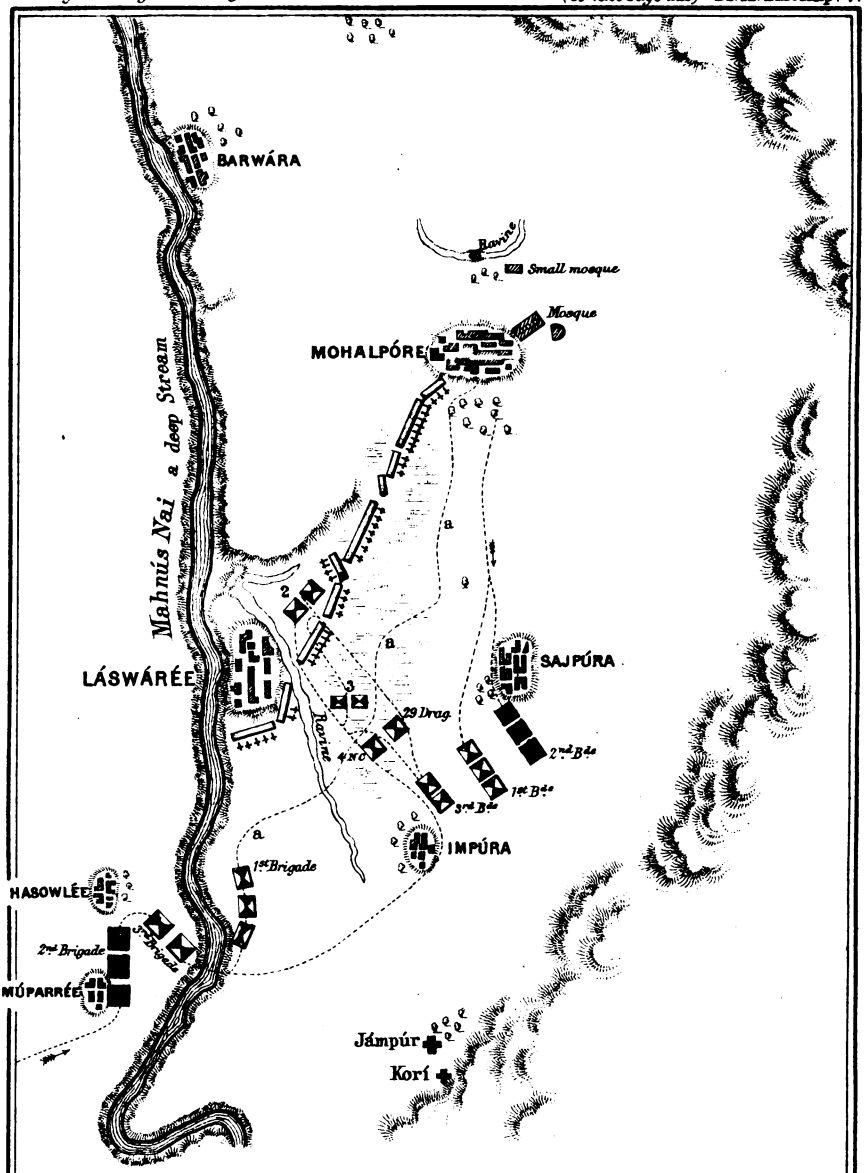

PLAN OF THE

BATTLE OF LASWÁREE

before the arrival of the Infantry.

From Official records, and Major Thorn's Memoir.

London: Henry S. King & Co. 65, Cornhill.. Edwd Weller, Litho.

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south-east from the town of Kutumba, the force encamped close to the ground the enemy had quitted the same morning; so the commander-in-chief moved forward at 12 o'clock at night, with the whole of the cavalry, intending to keep them employed until the infantry should arrive to take part in a general action. About 7 o'clock in the morning, he came up with the Máhrátá force. It numbered about 9000 infantry and 5000 cavalry, with 72 guns. They appeared to be retreating, and in some confusion, so the general determined to attack at once. 1803 October

This the enemy retarded by cutting the embankment of a large tank, and flooding the road so that they had time to form line. The position was a good one. Their right was in front of the village of Laswári, and thrown back upon the Mahnus Nai, a rivulet with precipitous banks; their left rested upon the village of Mohalpur. Their guns were ranged in front, the batteries connected in the intervals with chains, the better to impede attack, and the long grass jungle which covered the ground concealed the whole from view. November See PLATE XVI.

The advanced guard of our cavalry was commanded by Major Griffith, 29th Dragoons; the 1st Brigade followed, next the 3rd, and lastly the 2nd Brigade. The 1st Brigade, with the advanced guard, were directed to move upon the point where the enemy had first been seen in motion, which, however, proved to be the left of the position they had taken up. The clouds of dust which a body of horse in motion invariably raises in the arid plains of India completely concealed the order of their formation. Colonel T. P. Vandeleur led this charge with the accustomed gallantry of the name he bore. The enemy's line was forced, the village of Mohalpur even was penetrated, and several guns were for the time

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1803 November taken, but could not be brought away or spiked on the spot for want of the means. The service suffered a severe loss in Colonel Vandeleur, who was mortally wounded in this charge.

The two regiments of the 3rd Brigade, under Colonel R. Macan, another worthy scion of an old Irish family,* were directed to turn the right flank of the enemy. Steadily, under an appalling fire of grape and shot, delivered as they rode down upon the muzzles of the guns, was the order executed. Crouching under the muzzles of the guns as they passed, the gunners avoided their sabres and sprung again to their posts to reopen fire. Behind the batteries the ground was as hot; the infantry, drawn up behind a line of carts, bullocks, and baggage, kept up a destructive fire. Three times did the gallant brigade charge backwards and forwards (1, 2, 3, Plate No. XVI.), clearing their way, and Colonel Macan was about to lead them on again for the fourth time, when he was recalled.

It was now verging on to noonday, and the infantry, who had marched at 3 a.m., had already reached the banks of the rivulet. Some rest was necessary after a march of nearly twenty-three miles, and the enemy proposing to surrender their guns under certain conditions, the general, to avoid bloodshed, accepted the terms, and allowed one hour for their fulfilment; at the same time preparing for a renewal of the engagement.

Accordingly, the galloper guns of the cavalry were formed into two batteries (*a a*, Plate No. XVII.), commanded respectively by Lieutenant Wallace, 27th Dragoons, and Lieutenant Dickson, 6th Bengal Cavalry,

* Its present representative, Richard Macan, Esq., now of Drumcashel, Castlebellingham, Co. Louth, is a nephew of the officer above-mentioned.

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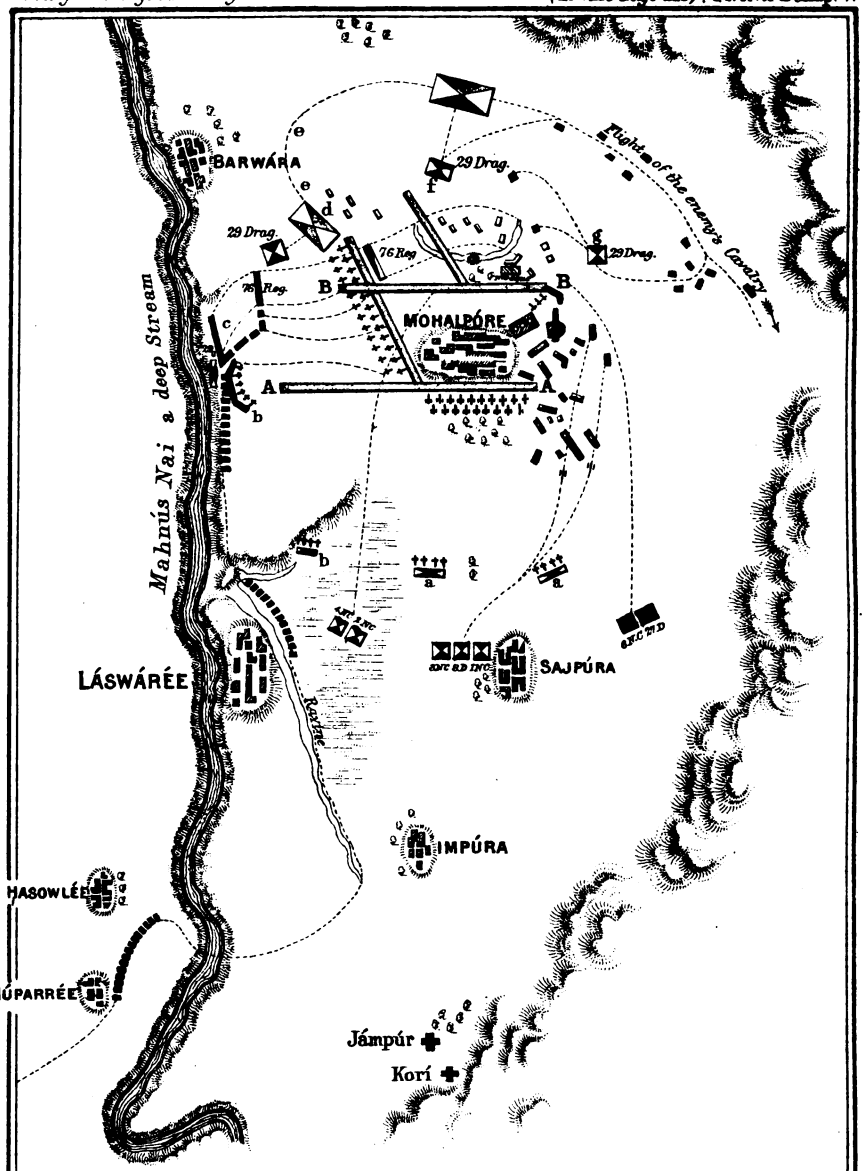

PLAN OF THE

BATTLE OF LASWÁREE

after the arrival of the Infantry.

From Official records, and Major Thorn's Memoir.

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and the guns which had arrived with the infantry into two more (*b b*). The names of the artillery officers who commanded the latter have not been recorded in any published accounts of the action. But the following companies had come on with the army, all the others probably having been left with the heavy guns at Fatehpur Sikri. 1803 November

1st Company,	1st Battalion	...	Captain	T. Greene.	1-23 R.A.
2nd	,,	,,	...	,,	G. Raban.	A-19 R.A.
3rd	,,	,,	...	,,	J. Nelly.	1-22 R.A.
1st	,,	2nd ,,	...	,,	G. Constable.	3-23 R.A.

Colonel Macan, with the 3rd Brigade, received orders to support the infantry attack; the 2nd Brigade, under Lieut.-Colonel John Vandeleur, was detached to the right, to watch the opportunity for charging when the enemy should have been broken; while the first, under Lieut.-Colonel Gordon, was held in reserve in the centre. The 2nd Bengal Cavalry was attached to the 3rd Brigade for the day.

The infantry, in two columns, were directed to attack the enemy's right. The right wing, headed by the 76th Regiment, led; and the left supported. Meanwhile the enemy, whose object had been merely to gain time, had taken up a new position in two lines (*A A* and *B B*) in front and rear of the village of Mohalpur, their artillery, as before, disposed along the front; and the time allowed them for attack having expired, General Lake ordered the columns of attack forward. They moved along the banks of the rivulet, concealed for the most part by the high grass and broken ground; but as soon as the enemy found their flank was being turned, they threw back the right of both lines under a heavy fire from their guns, with a steadiness that did credit to their teachers.

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1803 November The 29th Dragoons preceded the infantry, and halted in a hollow behind the leading battery of our artillery, which had taken up a position on the prolongation of the enemy's first line; but here they suffered severely from their return fire, and Major Griffiths, commanding the regiment, was killed. As soon, therefore, as the 76th had formed line to the right (*c*), and the native infantry were following up, the dragoons galloped out of their ground by files and formed up on the left of the infantry. The welcoming cheers of the 76th were echoed back by the dragoons, and the enemy's cavalry (*d*), advancing to charge, halted and turned. It was at this time that the commander-in-chief had his horse killed, and his son, Major Lake, was severely wounded while assisting his father to mount his own. But there was no time to think of anything but victory. The trumpets sounded the charge, and, amid the roar of cannon and shouts of conflict, on dashed the dragoons, followed up by the chief, at the head of the 76th, who were well supported by the battalions of the native infantry.* The guns in front were captured, both lines driven back obstinately disputing their ground, while the dragoons, wheeling to the left (*e e*), followed up the cavalry for a short distance, and again, in the attack on the second line, discomfited them in repeated charges (*f g*). In this attack Major-General Ware, commanding the right wing, was killed.

Meanwhile the other brigades were not idle; they attacked and dispersed the enemy's left wing, which endeavoured in vain to effect an orderly retreat. By 4 o'clock the victory was complete; 72 guns, with the whole of the ammunition and baggage, fell into our

* 2nd—12th, 1st and 2nd—15th, and 6 companies 2nd—16th N.I. It will be seen that the 1st and 2nd Brigades, with one exception, were not present. The left wing consisted of 2nd—8th, 2nd—9th, and 1st—12th N.I.

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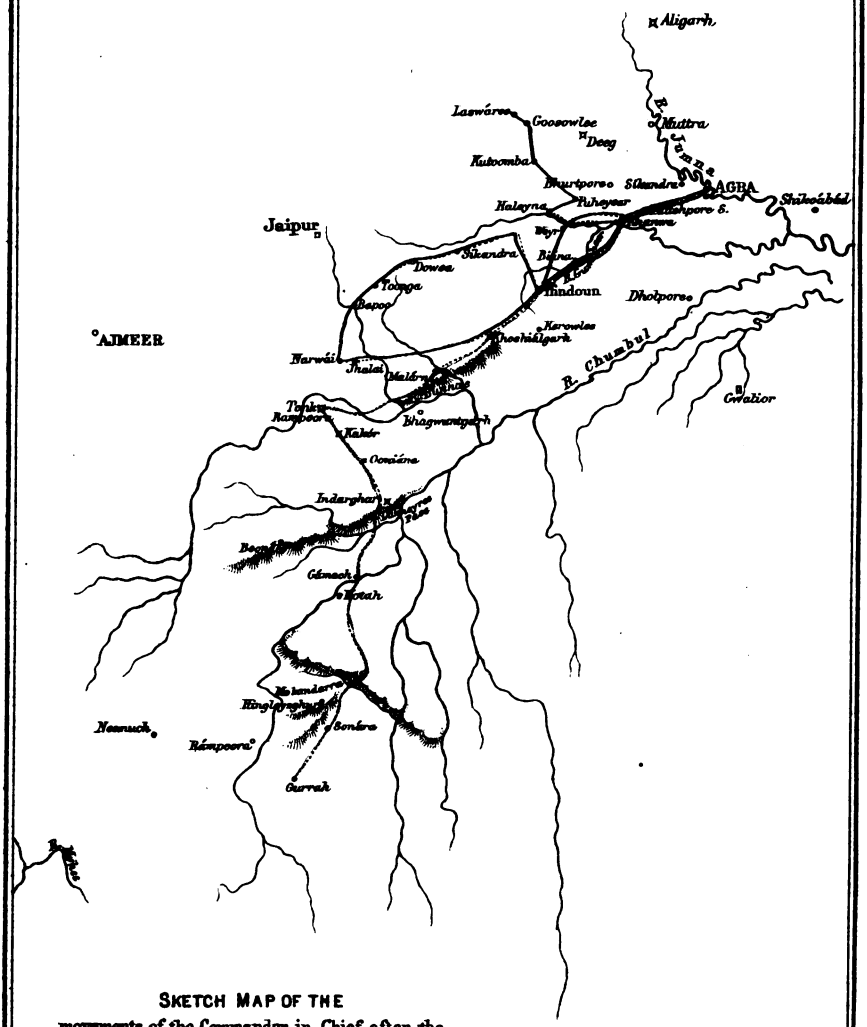

SKETCH MAP OF THE
movements of the Commander-in-Chief after the
BATTLE OF LASWÁREE
and of Brig.r Gen.l Monson's
RETREAT ON AGRA.

——— Route of the Commander-in-Chief.
- - - - - Retreat of Monson's detachment.

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hands. The artillery suffered but little, as the brunt of the action fell upon the other branches. The casualties were—4 matrosses and 3 lascars killed; 6 matrosses and 5 lascars wounded. The difficulty of moving ordnance with bullock-draft rendered the foot artillery batteries ones chiefly of position, and on ground such as the field of Laswári, where a good view of the enemy in the changing conditions of the battle-field was essential, practically inefficient. There is no mention in General Lake's despatch of any share borne by the artillery, except of the gallopers, under Lieutenants Wallace and Dickson,* who are said to have particularly distinguished themselves. 1803 November

From Laswári the army, on the 8th November, returned towards Agra, sending in the wounded and the captured stores. In this neighbourhood they remained till the 7th of December. Here Lieut.-Colonel White was detached, as has already been mentioned, with a force towards Gwalior. The main army moved by the route here given to the Biána pass, where it remained till the 9th of February, 1804. December

			Miles
Dec. 7.	Parsu	...	7¾
„ 8.	Kurkah	...	5¼
„ 10.	Kandwah	...	6⅛
„ 11.	Remedah	...	10½
„ 23.	Kandwah	...	10¾
„ 24.	Mandapur	...	7½
„ 27.	Biána	...	6¾

The experimental troop of horse artillery joined the army here. Capt.-Lieutenant Clement Brown, commanding, and Lieutenants Harry Stark and James Young were with it. 1804 February A.-C, R.H.A.

Sindiah and Berár had purchased peace; but Jaswant Ráo Holkar was in the field, and his hostile intentions were becoming more apparent every day. The menacing letter which he sent to Major-General Wellesley only confirmed the foregone conclusion of General Lake. To protect the territory of the Rájá of Jainagar from appre- April

* Spelt Dixon in the despatch.

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1804 April — hended plunder, Colonel Monson was detached from Dowsah, on the 18th of April, with a force of 3000 sepoys and Captain C. H. Hutchinson's company of artillery towards Jaipur and Kotah, the commander-in-chief following in the same direction.* On the 10th of May, Lieut.-Colonel Patrick Don was sent to take the fortified town of Tonk Rámpura, about sixty miles south by east from Jaipur, belonging to Holkar. His force consisted of two battalions of sepoys, one regiment of native cavalry, with Captain Raban's company of artillery. Lieutenant S. S. Hay was with it.

Reduced in 1825

May

A-19 R.A.

He arrived before Rámpura on the 14th of May, and, to conceal his intentions from the garrison, took up a position on the opposite side of the town from the principal entrance, which he intended to attack. At 2 o'clock the next morning he himself led forward the storming party, consisting of six companies 2nd—8th N.I., and two of the 2nd—21st N.I., preceded by a 12-pounder gun, under Sergeant O'Laughlin, and followed by another to keep in check a body of the enemy that were posted outside; while Captain Raban, with one 12 and four 6-pounders, took up a position from which he was enabled to direct his fire upon any part of the works which the enemy might man to meet the attack.

On getting within about 250 yards, a fire was opened upon the party from those outside; but Colonel Don moved on without returning it, till the garrison within took alarm. Then, under cover of the musketry and the guns, Sergeant O'Laughlin ran up his 12-pounder and blew open the first gate. The second gate, being out of repair, was not shut, but the third and fourth gates were blown in also, and the town was speedily taken possession of.

* For the commander-in-chief's route, see note in the appendix to this chapter, and Plate XVIII.

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The commander-in-chief was much pleased with the success of this expedition, and thus spoke of the artillery in general orders:— 1804 May

"Head-Quarters, Camp near Jhalái, 18th May, 1804.

"....The ability which Sergeant O'Laughlin displayed in blowing open the gates, and the behaviour of the artillerymen and lascars attached to the leading gun, is deserving of the greatest praise and commendation. . . . .

"His Excellency has noticed, with particular pleasure, the cordial and active co-operation of Captain Wood, of the Engineers, and of Captain Raban, of the artillery. Of their spirited zeal and desire to forward the public service, Lieut.-Colonel Don has afforded the most ample and gratifying testimony. The behaviour of Lieutenant Hay and the whole of the artillery has been such as has ever distinguished this valuable corps."

We now come to a disaster of much greater extent than that which in this month of May occurred in Bandelkhand, and far more damaging to the reputation of the British in India. It seemed in the eyes of the native powers as if Holkar was prepared to verify the gasconade—"Please God, to whatsoever side the reins of the horses of my brave warriors may be turned, the whole of the country in that direction shall come into my possession." Jealousy of the power of Sindiah had hitherto kept this chief quiet till he should see his rival humbled, in the hope that the nation he hated most would, after their efforts in the war, be less inclined, or less able, to restrain him in his course of general plunder. With all the treachery of a Máhrátá, Jaswant Ráo Holkar had a restless activity that Sindiah did not possess; and he trusted that the marauding style of war, in which his troops excelled, would be more destructive and less easily encountered by regular tactics.

The commander-in-chief remained throughout the month of May between Agra and Jaipur; but his force

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1804 June suffered so much from the heat, especially the dragoons, that he returned in June to Cawnpore.

Lieut.-Colonel Don had been directed to place himself under the orders of Brigadier-General Monson, and he in consequence, leaving a garrison in Tonk, joined that officer at Kotah, on the 2nd of June, with his two regiments of sepoys. Captain Raban's company and the native cavalry had returned to the British provinces. Monson's force, therefore, consisted of:—

Reduced in 1825

2nd Company, 2nd Battalion Artillery,			Capt. C. W. Hutchinson.
2nd Battalion, 2nd N.I.,			Major J. Sinclair.
2nd	,,	8th ,,	Lieut.-Colonel P. Don.
1st	,,	12th ,,	Captain H. O. Donnell.
2nd	,,	12th ,,	Captain T. Fetherston H.
2nd	,,	21st ,,	Major Wade.

And a body of irregular horse under Lieutenant Lucan and the Bareych Nawáb. With Lieutenant Lucan's horse were six light 6-pounder gallopers. Capt.-Lieutenant W. Winbolt had been sent up from Cawnpore, probably to join his company, which was Captain Raban's, but was ordered with a detail of men to Captain Hutchinson's, which had no other officer with it. The ordnance consisted of twelve 6-pounders, including the battalion guns and two 12-pounders.

Major-General Wellesley had ordered Colonel John Murray * to move with his force from Guzarát towards Ujain, in order to co-operate with the movements on the Bengal side. General Monson moved on from Kotah through the Mokandara pass, and then on to Sonárá. The rains. which were setting in, obliged him

* Afterwards Sir John Murray, Bart. The same who afterwards commanded the Anglo-Sicilian troops in South Valencia in 1813, and of whom Napier says, "Although far from an incapable officer in the Cabinet, he showed none of the qualities of a commander in the field. His indecision was remarkable."—"Peninsular War," Book xx. chap. iv.

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to make long halts, and made it a matter of great difficulty to obtain supplies. He took by escalade Hinglezgarh, a small but strong hill fort,* and thence moved on to Piplah and to Gurah, about fifty miles south of the pass. 1804 June July

Holkar at this time was at a ferry on the river Chambal, near the town of Rámpura,† and his outposts were only a few miles distant from General Monson. At this place the unlooked-for intelligence was received that Colonel Murray had fallen back upon the river Maihi. This rendered Monson's position very critical, for the following reasons:—He was in presence of a force very much superior to his own, relatively as well as numerically; he was very much straitened for supplies, and was at a distance of 280 miles from Agra, his nearest base; the condition of the country, flooded by the rains, made any movement a matter of the greatest difficulty. Under such circumstances, to trust to the success of a double line of operations was to accept a risk without the probability of any favourable events to compensate for it. Colonel Monson was said to have acted upon the treacherous advice of Bapoji Sindiah in retreating; but, in truth, it is difficult to see how he could have done otherwise. When Holkar sat by the ford at the Chambal with two lákh of rupees before him, to distribute to his men as they went over the river to fight with the English, he doubtless dreaded the event of a fair contest; and a bold attempt, well concerted, would probably have given a victory to the English general. But Holkar was not to be crushed

* Captain Hutchinson was employed here. Casualties, one lascar killed.

† This must not be confounded with Tonk Rámpura, which is on the southern bank of the river Banás. It is about thirty-five miles (direct) east of Neemuch.

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1804 July

by one blow; and it is easy to see that operating in that country with shortened supplies and disabled cattle must have resulted in the loss of his guns. The disaster which, on the first occasion, deprived Monson of all his cavalry, showed the absolute necessity of a mutual support being given by all arms to compensate for the great inferiority in numbers of his force.

Next to the primary error of advancing so far from any support, the conduct of the retreat was that wherein Monson failed. Indisputably brave, he lacked foresight, judgment, and the experience to lead native troops.

On the 8th of July, therefore, the retreat commenced, and simultaneously, disaster. The cavalry left behind to cover the movement were attacked; and when the infantry had marched twelve miles, Bapoji Sindiah, commanding a body of Máhrátá horse in pretended alliance with the British, and who had, like his race, turned traitor, rode up to say that the whole had been cut up or dispersed, and the gallant Lucan wounded and taken. They therefore continued their march to Sonárá, and reached the Mokandara pass by noon the next day.

The south entrance of this pass was fortified by a strong gateway, with a loopholed parapet ascending the hills on either side. Lieut.-Colonel Don was ordered to occupy this gateway with his regiment, while the rest of the column continued its retreat through the pass. This duty he performed well, assisted by Captain Fetherston, who, with two companies of the 12th N.I., was guarding the ford across a nullah in front of the pass. The enemy had been collecting all day, and rain was falling heavily. To deceive the enemy, Brigadier-General Monson left his camp standing and fires burning.

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It was night when Lieut.-Colonel Don commenced to move off his ground. The frequent flashes of lightning were at times the only guide along the rugged path through the entrance at the pass, now converted into a rushing torrent. Having got his men through, he barricaded the gate by blocking it up with great stones. Captain Fetherston, with his party, had nearly been left behind; a havildar sent to look for him having reported that he had passed through after the main body, while he was still guarding his post at the nullah. But Colonel Don knew that his subaltern was more faithful to his duty. A native officer and party of men was sent, and returned with the rear-guard; and the gate having been blocked up, at 2 a.m. Colonel Don began to pass the defile. It was intensely dark; the guns had to be dragged over rocks with infinite labour by the light of port-fires, 500 of which the artillerymen expended in this way before morning. 1804 July

On the 12th they reached Kotah; but here Zálim Singh, the Regent, proved faithless, or, more properly speaking, powerless to assist;* and but two days' supply of provisions, of which the army was sorely in need, could be furnished.

Heavy rain fell on the two next days, and it was not till the second, the 14th, that all the troops were across the Chambal at the Gámach ghat. Two 12-pounder guns left with the Regent were retained by him. Notwithstanding the weather, the force moved on at 10 a.m.; but the state of the ground, a soft, tenacious black clay, now mud knee-deep, was such that the utmost exertions of Captain Hutchinson and his men

* Colonel Tod, in his "Rajpootana" (vol. ii. p. 549), denies this charge of faithlessness; in fact, the Regent dared not openly assist those who were unable to protect him against so formidable and unscrupulous a foe as Holkar.

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1804 July could only get the guns six miles before night;* and next day, as they could not be extricated, they were spiked and the ammunition destroyed. The whole of the country on this day's march was under water, out of which rose here and there a distant village; fifteen elephants and several camels had to be abandoned.

The river Mej, at the entrance of the Lakeri pass was reached on the 17th, but it was not fordable. The force was very much straitened for provisions, and the artillerymen, almost starving, deemed themselves fortunate in securing a village bullock for a meal. On the 18th they were sent across the river, and, with Captains Hutchinson and Winbolt, proceeded on to Rámpura; but the rest took ten days in getting over, and it was not until the 30th that the rear of the detachment arrived there. By this time parties of the enemy's horse were again seen, for the first time since they had left the Mokandara pass. But swarms of Minahs, a tribe of Bhils devoted to plunder, had carried off almost everything in the shape of baggage. The English camp at Tonk Rámpura was a collection of sheets and blankets stretched on bamboos, and the men were without any shelter whatever, till some of the officers were fortunate enough to procure small "pals" or "rowties."

August Orders from the commander-in-chief were here received by General Monson, not to fall back further than Kotah;[1] but the circumstances of the moment were even more peremptory. They should have been promptly attended to. But the fatal mistake was made of halting

* "Indeed, it would have been impossible to have got them on at all, but for the great exertions of that valuable officer, Captain Hutchinson, of the artillery (now dead), and the men under his command."—Journal of the Retreat, "East India Military Calendar," ii. p. 543.

[1] Brigadier-General Monson to Lieut.-Colonel Don, dated July 28th. —"Journal."

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here for three weeks, till the enemy's force had all come up; a still more inexcusable mistake was made in totally neglecting, during that time, to make any preparations for crossing an important river, like the Banás, at the height of the rainy season. 1804 August

On the 14th August Lieut.-Colonel McCulloch, with two battalions of sepoys and some irregular horse under Major R. Frith, arrived from Agra. Four 6-pounder guns and two 5½-inch howitzers were with them. But they brought no food with them; and as none had been collected, General Monson decided on continuing his retreat. A garrison was left in Rámpura with the four 6-pounders, and most of the 2nd Company, 2nd Battalion Artillery; the rest, under Captain Winbolt, accompanying the detachment. Colonel Don was to have been left in command at Rámpura, but his health obliging him to return to the British provinces, the charge devolved upon Captain Hutchinson, of the artillery, whose good service here is related at the end of this chapter.

On the 21st a salute, only ten miles off, announced the arrival of Holkar in his camp.

On the morning of the 22nd, the detachment, having moved from Tonk Rámpura the night previous, reached the bank of the river Banás, some distance lower down; but, "to their unspeakable disappointment, the river was not fordable for the largest elephants. Three old leaky boats were found sunk in the Banás; these were raised, and the treasure, with six companies of the 21st, under Captain Nicholl, crossed over."[1] Next day, the enemy's cavalry appeared in large numbers; but the river having somewhat subsided, the baggage and sick were conveyed across in five small boats during the day.

[1] Journal of the Retreat in Colonel Nicol's papers.

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1804 August

In the morning the detachment crossed. Major Sinclair, with the 2nd Battalion 2nd N.I., was left to support the picquets and cover the passage. This duty was performed as well as troops could have done it. The enemy attacked in great force: and Major Sinclair, finding himself hard pushed, formed line, charged and broke the enemy, actually capturing eleven of their guns; but he was shot in the act of planting his colours upon them. The success was only momentary; the regiment was almost annihilated, and one of the howitzers was abandoned. Brigadier-General Monson remained on the field till all was lost, and was wounded. Many of those who escaped the sword were drowned in crossing the river; among these was Captain W. Winbolt, an officer of great promise, and greatly thought of by Colonel Horsford, in whose company he had served during the second Mysore war.

The detachment continued to march the same evening; but on reaching a difficult nullah, two miles on the road, the whole of the baggage was abandoned, and the regiments formed an oblong square, of which the front and rear consisted each of two companies in line, the other sides of columns of sections. In this way, but with difficulty, the village of Dungri Malárna was reached on the morning of the 25th.

The enemy were in greater numbers than ever; and, after some rest, the retreat was continued under incessant and harassing attacks. Towards evening they drew off to refresh themselves, and the detachment reached Khushiálgarh, worn out with want of rest and food, after a distance of 36 miles performed in 30 hours. The welcome arrival of nearly 1000 bullocks laden with grain enabled the men to procure, what they had not known for some time, a good meal. But the situation of

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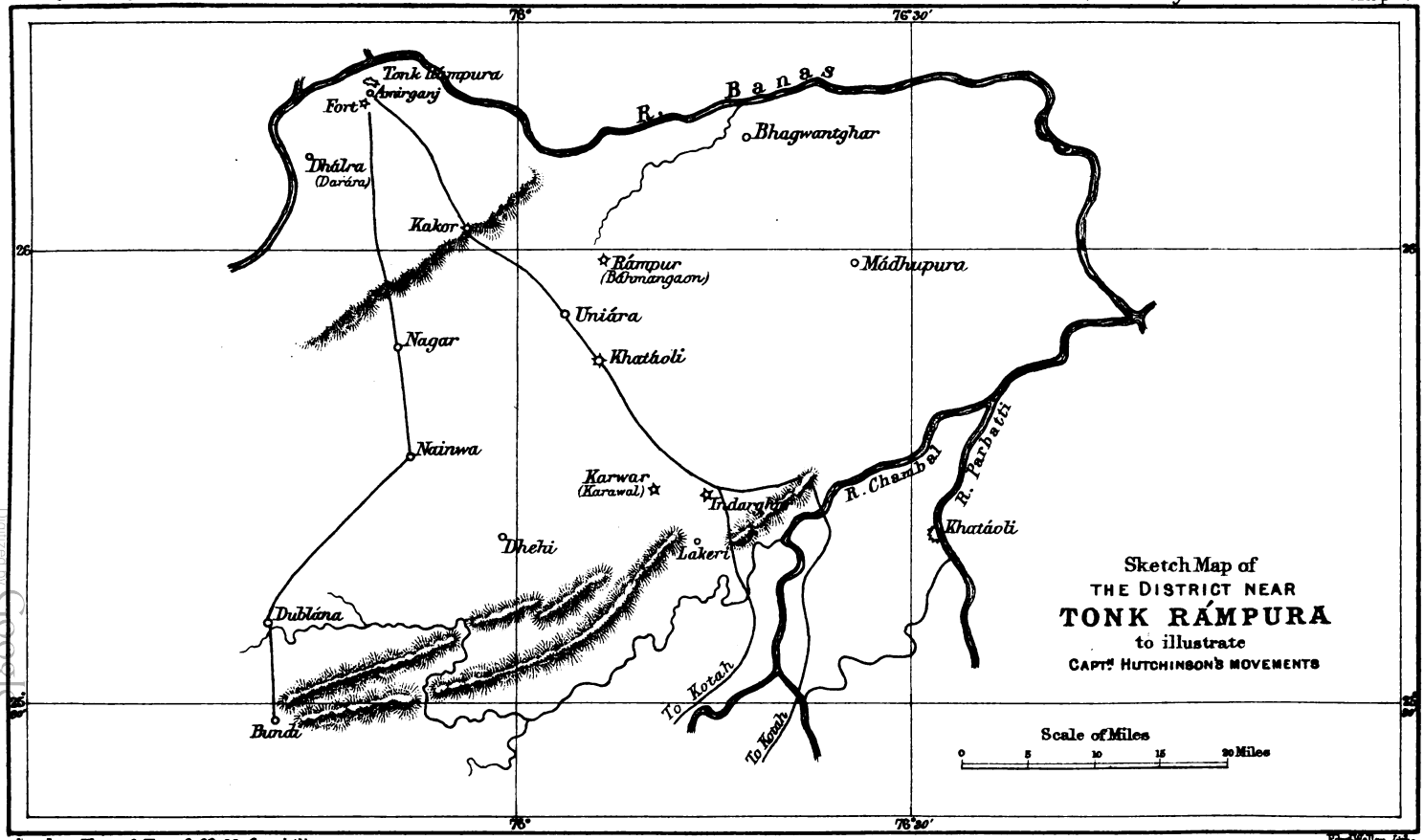
(To face Page 235) Pl. XLVIII. Chap. 7.



London: Henry S. King & Co., 65, Cornhill.

Edw. Weller, Litho.

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the detachment was more critical than ever. Holkar's guns, as well as his cavalry, had come up; and he was not content with summoning them to surrender. He was now endeavouring to seduce the sepoys from their allegiance, and several desertions took place in consequence. 1804 August

From thence, almost constantly surrounded, they got to Hindoun on the evening of the 27th, having halted one day. On the way, the remaining howitzer was abandoned for want of means to bring it on. The next day they got through the Biána pass, still repulsing the continual attacks of the Máhrátás; but here, in the broken ground and ravines, the order, till now preserved with the greatest steadiness, was broken, and was never recovered. Early on the morning of the 30th parties of sepoys came dropping into Agra; and for three days after, the remnants of Brigadier-General Monson's detachment, an average of from 300 to 400 men of each battalion, continued to arrive. Lieut.-Colonel St. George Ashe, on foot, kept nearly the whole of his together, and marched in at the head of it. Of the few artillerymen who survived so far, some had lain down to rest on reaching Fatehpur Sikri, and, with Doctor Burgh, were taken prisoners, and afterwards barbarously murdered in Holkar's presence for refusing to enter his service. Such was the termination of this retreat, which, however disastrous, brought out many of the noble qualities for which the native army in India was justly celebrated.

Captain Hutchinson's Operations in the District of Tonk Rámpura.

The names of the places mentioned in this part of the chapter are not those given in the published maps of the district. I have therefore given a sketch map

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1804 (Plate XLVIII.) to assist the reader in their identification. The authority for this sketch has been kindly communicated to me by the officiating political agent in Haráwati and Tonk, through the Governor-General's agent in Rájputána, and is given in Note F in the Appendix. Although the statements are made from memory, they clearly identify the places, except Khatáoli, about which there is some doubt, and Zamina, which I have not yet been able to discover.

The object of Captain Hutchinson was to keep open the communication with Bombay as far as lay in his power. This was by two roads: one by the Bundi pass, which was a difficult one to force in the face of any opposition; the other was the road by Kakor and the Lakeri pass to Kotah, the route by which Monson had retreated. There are two places called Khatáoli: one a little beyond Uniára, which is not now marked on the map as a fort; the other a large fortified town on the river Parbatti. I incline to the former, as it is doubtful if Captain Hutchinson, with his small force, would have placed the Lakeri pass and river Chambal between himself and his post at Tonk. Zamina must have been about thirty miles from Tonk, as it was only reached the evening of the second day.

August It has been already stated that Brigadier-General Monson, in the month of August, 1804, left Captain Charles W. Hutchinson, of the artillery, with a small garrison to hold the town and fort of Rámpura, and keep open, as far as possible, the communication with Bombay.

Captain Hutchinson's force was only composed of the 2nd Battalion 8th, four companies of the 2nd Battalion 21st N.I., and his own company of artillery, the 2nd of the 2nd Battalion, with some irregulars.

Reduced in 1825

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When Holkar's army swept onwards towards Hindustan, he was not unmindful of the small party beleaguered in Rámpura; but his attention was too fully occupied with his designs of plunder, and the events taking place beyond the Chambal, so that it was free from any serious attack. But every petty fort round was occupied by an enemy, who cut off their supplies, and the Kotah and Bundi Rájás were unable, if willing, to afford open assistance. Severe work too had told upon the men, and the conclusion of the rainy season left the garrison much reduced by sickness. As soon, however, as the cold weather had brought back health, Captain Hutchinson began, by a series of small expeditions from Rámpura, to clear the country around himself, and open the way for the force from Bombay, which, under Major-General Richard Jones, was on its way to join General Lake. 1804 August

The first place attacked and taken by Captain Hutchinson was Khatáoli; after which, leaving Tonk on the 17th of January with 120 sepoys under Lieutenant J. L. Purvis, two 6-pounder guns, some irregulars and some artillerymen, he reached Zamina a little after the moon had risen next evening, and immediately proceeded to attack as near the gate as possible. Unfortunately, the guns could not be taken up sufficiently close, for a number of carts laden with grain had been placed upon the road, their wheels removed, and, with the bullocks still fastened to the yokes, blocked it up. The carts were set on fire, and Captain Hutchinson, taking two bildars forward, began cutting steps in the ramparts. In this manner, Lieutenant Purvis mounted with the sepoys, but was unfortunately wounded;* and Captain Hutchinson, being the only other officer, took the lead. 1805 January

* Died after his return to Rámpura, on the 17th of March, after an illness of eight days.

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1805 January

There was a second rampart to be got over in the same manner, and so much time was taken up that the guns expended three tumbrils of ammunition. After he had been about a quarter of an hour on the wall, and while the bildars were cutting a hole through the parapet, Corporals Cross and Hislop, of the artillery, came up, and the number of the assailants increasing, the enemy were driven back upon the inner gate. This could not be opened; but the wicket at last gave way to the butt ends of the muskets, and the place was taken. Six 3-pounder guns, four of a smaller calibre on swivels, and 36 jingals were found upon the works. The casualties were two natives killed; Lieutenant Purvis and about sixteen wounded.

General Lake, in forwarding Captain Hutchinson's report to the Governor-General, thus speaks of him:—[1]

"The enterprise and gallantry this meritorious officer has on every occasion manifested, during his command at Rámpura, has never been more conspicuous than in the present instance, when he appears to have accomplished a most arduous and dangerous undertaking with a spirit and perseverance which reflects on him the highest credit, and from which I am confident your lordship will derive infinite satisfaction.

"The conduct of the garrison of Rámpura has throughout been highly meritorious; and the detachments that have occasionally moved out from it have rendered the most essential service, and entitle Captain Hutchinson, and the officers under his orders, to my warmest thanks."

The Bombay force reached Rámpura on the 25th of January. They left some stores and heavy guns, also Lieutenant Thomas Grant, Bombay N.I., who had been ill with fever.

February

On the 22nd of February, Captain Hutchinson went, with his own company and a party of 160 sepoys, against Báhmangáon, a mud fort about sixteen miles from

[1] Dated Head-Quarters, Camp before Bhurtpore, 27th January, 1805.

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Rámpura, with high ramparts and a ditch. He had two 6-pounder guns and two howitzers; but they proved too light, and therefore Lieutenant Grant returned alone to Rámpura, and brought back two iron guns of heavier calibre, with some ammunition, on the 24th. With these a practicable breach was made; but the garrison evacuated the place during the night. 1805 February

From Báhmangáon, Captain Hutchinson proceeded against Karáwal on the 25th. This was a large town garrisoned by more than 1000 men. Two batteries were formed of such materials as came first to hand: one of empty ammunition waggons and boxes filled up with earth and completed with bags of grain, to contain two 12-pounder guns and one 6-pounder; the other for a 6-pounder gun and the two brass howitzers. The batteries were not quite 300 yards from the walls. They opened on the morning of the 26th, and their fire told well; so the garrison offered to surrender if Captain Hutchinson would give them two days to remove their private property. Mindful, perhaps, of the disaster at Bela, he gave them only two hours, which indeed he required, as the guns from rapid firing had heated through. When the time elapsed, they had not surrendered. He therefore recommenced; and in the evening a storming party, led by Lieutenant Grant, entered by the breach, and the place was taken with the loss altogether of not more than ten men.

In his report to the commander-in-chief, Captain Hutchinson again mentions Corporals Cross and Hislop, whom he solicits his Excellency would notice, as he says "there are not two braver men in the 2nd Company, 2nd Battalion of Artillery."

In the month of March a detachment proceeded to Dhálra, under command of Lieutenant G. Nugent, N.I.; March

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1805 March

but the place proved too strong, and the party was repulsed. The ramparts of the fort were high, and the ditch both broad and deep; the gate was covered by an outwork and ditch. Captain Hutchinson, with Lieutenant Grant (who appears to have acted here as an artillery officer), arrived with a reinforcement, and reconnoitred. The depth of the ditch and nature of the ground outside rendered it impossible to breach except at very close quarters. Two batteries were constructed, one at 35, and the other at 20 yards only, and fire was opened without loss of time, as their proximity to the ramparts of the fort entailed heavy loss on the besiegers. This was on the 21st of March. By noon, the breach appearing practicable, a party of native infantry was ordered to storm; but losing several men, it retired to the battery. Lieutenant Grant moved one of the howitzers from the battery near the gateway to within ten yards of it; and the sepoys, this time headed by six artillerymen, Corporals Cross and Hislop, Gunners Campbell and Johnstone, Matrosses Mullen and Hudson, again rushed forward, and, after a severe struggle, captured the fort. The enemy fought desperately—they had sent their families out of the place the better to do so—and at one time the combatants were so mixed up together, that an officer of native infantry killed one of his own men in the *mêlée*. Of the officers, who behaved with great courage, Lieutenant Yates received two gunshot wounds in the thigh. The gallantry of the artillerymen was most marked; Gunner Johnstone was killed, and three of the enemy fell by the hand of Matross Hudson, after he himself had been twice wounded in the body and arm. Besides these, one gunner and two matrosses were killed; a gunner and a matross were wounded the same day: a number that the reduced state of the company,

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which, with men attached, had that morning consisted of only thirty-seven non-commissioned officers and men, could ill spare. 1805

This was the last place taken by Captain Hutchinson's detachment. He still remained in command at Tonk Rámpura, and, probably in consequence of the hardships he had undergone, died here on September 16th following; leaving behind him a reputation which it is the duty of the service he belonged to to preserve.

Corporal John Cross lived to a good old age. He was appointed to the ordnance department, in which he served till placed on the invalid pension establishment in 1845. He lived for many years after at Penang, and was promoted successively to the rank of ensign, lieutenant, and, "after 51 years meritorious service," to the rank of captain, on the 17th of April, 1845.[1] He died at the same station, 8th of December, 1859, just before completing the 83rd year of his age.

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[1] G. O. O. 16th May, 1845.

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APPENDIX.

Note A.—Return of ordnance captured at Agra.

Note B.—Description of the great gun of Agra.

Note C.—Names of artillery officers who served in the first campaign against the Máhrátás.

Note D.—Route of General Lake from Laswári to watch the movements of Holkar.

Note E.—Captain C. W. Hutchinson at Bencoolen in 1794.

Note F.—Statement of old inhabitants of the Tonk district regarding Captain Hutchinson's operations in 1805.

NOTE A.

Table of ordnance captured at Agra, October 18, 1803.

	Bronze.					Iron.	
	Guns.	Gallopers.	Carronades.	Howitzers.	Mortars.	Guns.	Gallopers.
1500	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
72	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
32	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
24	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
20	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
18	...	...	2	...	...	1	...
16	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
12	...	...	...	...	1	4	...
10	1	...	...	...	...	1	...
9	5	...	...	...	...	...	...
8	1	...	1	...	1	1	...
6	19	...	...	1	...	6	...
5½	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
5	6	...	...	...	...	4	...
4⅘	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
4	7	...	...	...	...	6	...
3	2	1	...	...	...	6	...
2	2	2	...	...	...	6	11
1½	...	1	...	...	...	...	4
1	5	3	...	...	...	4	4
Wall-pieces	9	...	...	...	...	26	...
Total ...	60	7	4	3	2	67	19
	Total ... 76					86	

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NOTE B.

Description of the great gun taken at Agra, October 18th, 1803.

Weight.	Diameter.					Length.			Exterior width without the trunnions.	Exterior width with the trunnions.	Length from centre of trunnions to base ring.
	Calibre.	Chamber.	Trunnions.	Base Ring.	Muzzle.	Boreincluding chamber.	Chamber.	Total extent.			
cwt qrs lbs	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.
1049 1 4	1 11$\frac{1}{5}$	10$\frac{1}{5}$	11$\frac{1}{3}$	4 5$\frac{1}{7}$	...	13 2	4 3	14 2$\frac{1}{5}$	4 2$\frac{1}{7}$	6 2	5 7

Inscription: "In the reign of Akbar Sháh, made by Sital Parshád. Weight, 1469 maunds."

	Sonat Rupees.
Value of the gun as old brass at the Company's price	53,400
„ if serviceable	160,200
	lbs.
Weight of shot if of iron	1497
„ if of marble	567

NOTE C.

Names of Artillery officers who served in the first campaign against the Máhrátás, under General Lake, in 1803-1804.

Rank and Names.	Co.	Batt.	Remarks.
Major John Horsford	—	—	Commanding artillery. Present at Aligarh, Delhi, Agra, and Laswári.
Captain James Robinson ...	4	2	Present at Aligarh, Delhi, Agra.
„ Thomas Greene ...	1	1	Present at Aligarh, Delhi, Agra, Laswári, siege of Gwalior.
„ William Shipton ...	3	2	Wounded at Aligarh.
„ George Constable ...	1	2	Present at Aligarh, Delhi, Agra, Laswári.
„ Charles W. Hutchinson	2	2	Present at Aligarh, Delhi, Agra. With Colonel Monson's force, and in the operations in the Rámpura district.
„ John Nelly	3	1	Present at Aligarh, Delhi, Agra, Laswári.
„ George Raban ...	2	1	Present at Aligarh, Delhi, Agra, Laswári.

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NOTE C (*continued*).

Rank and Names.	Co.	Batt.	Remarks.
Capt.-Lieutenant Edward Wm. Butler	—	—	Brigade-Major.
Capt.-Lieutenant Wm. Feade ...	1	3	Present at siege of Gwalior. Killed at Fort Bela, 22nd May, 1804.
„ Robert Best ...	3	2	Present at Aligarh, and left there in charge.
„ William Winbolt ...	2	1	Wounded and taken prisoner at Shikoabad. Sent to Cawnpore. Detached with Colonel Monson's force, and drowned in the river Banás, 24th August, 1804.
Lieut. (Brevet-Captain) Arnold N. Matthews	4	2	Present at Aligarh and Delhi. Wounded.
Lieut. William Parker	3	2	Joined the army 2nd October, 1803. Present at Agra and Laswári.
„ Marmaduke W. Browne ...	—	—	Quarter-Master.
„ Francis Beaghan ...	2	2	Present at Agra (wounded) died in December.
„ William Richards ...	1	3	Present at siege of Gwalior (wounded).
„ Robert Morris	1	1	Present at Aligarh, Delhi, and Agra, siege of Gwalior. Detached to Bandelkhand, and killed at Fort Bela, 22nd May, 1804.
„ Samuel Sinclair Hay ...	1	2	Joined the army 5th October, 1803. Present at Agra and Laswári, and siege of Gwalior.

NOTE D.

Route of General Lake from Laswári to watch the movements of Holkar, from November, 1803, to June, 1804.*

Dates.	Places.	Distances. Miles.	Fur.	
1803.				
Nov. 8	Gursaoli ...	5	5	Halted one day
10	Kasumba ...	6	2	
11	Kutumba ...	7	0	
12	Nandbái ...	9	3	
13	Pahesar ...	6	5	Halted twelve days

* Taken from routes published in the office of the quarter-master general Bengal army.

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NOTE D (*continued*).

Dates.	Places.	Distances. Miles.	Fur.	
Nov. 26	Halena	7	0	Halted ten days
Dec. 7	Parsu	7	7	
8	Kurkah... ...	5	2	,, one day
10	Kandwah ...	6	1	
11	Remedah ...	10	7	,, eleven days
23	Kandwah ...	10	7	
24	Mándapur ...	7	4	,, two days
27	Biána	6	6	,, forty-three
1804.				
Feb. 9	Samogarh ...	9	7	
10	Saraut	5	3	,, nine days
20	Hindoun ...	12	2	,, sixteen days
Mar. 8	Nandpura ...	7	0	
9	Rámghar ...	12	0	,, thirteen days
23	Báláhira ...	9	7	,, thirteen days
April 6	Karáoli... ...	10	0	,, two days
9	Sikandra ...	9	7	,, seven days
17	Dowsa	12	0	,, nine days. Brigadier-General Monson detached to watch Holkar
27	Baniána ...	10	3	
28	Tánga	10	4	Halted four days
May 3	Bápugáon ...	10	0	
4	Sombah ...	11	2	,, three days
8	Nowái	12	6	,, nine days. Lieut.-Colonel Don detached to Tonk Rámpura
18	Jhalái	6	0	
19	Mitarpur ...	13	0	Halted one day
21	Bagra	13	6	,, one day
23	Pipli	12	2	
24	Khushiálgarh ...	12	7	,, one day
26	Piloda	11	1	
27	Máhábir ...	10	2	
28	Hindoun ...	6	1	
29	Salimgarh ...	14	6	
30	Bhosáwa ...	9	2	
31	Wer	7	0	
June 1	Pinghora ...	13	2	
2	Kanwa	13	6	
3	Karáoli ...	18	4	Halted one day
5	Ágra			
17	Cawnpore ...	181	3	In nine marches

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Note E.

The successful application of Captain Hutchinson's small force, in the accomplishment of great results, was not the first time on which his conduct had been brought to favourable notice.

Lieutenant C. W. Hutchinson had been, while serving at Fort Marlborough, Bencoolen, appointed adjutant to the garrison at that place, in 1790.[1] Four years after this Bencoolen was attacked by a French squadron of four ships of war. The garrison at this time consisted of only 300 sepoys and 20 artillerymen. Of the officers, the names of only three are recorded: Lieutenant Thomas Brown,* then in the infantry, but subsequently transferred to the cavalry; Lieutenant Hutchinson and Lieutenant J. Macdonald, of the Bengal Engineers.† The French commodore threatened to destroy the place, and demanded 300,000 dollars as a ransom. This Captain Brown refused; and the three officers showed so much energy in repairing the defences of the place, preparing furnaces for hot shot, etc., that the French commander thought it more prudent not to make the attempt, but sheered off, after capturing an Indiaman that lay at anchor, and which the garrison had not been able to save.

Note F.

In Cheyt Sambat 1862 (February—March, 1805), a fight took place at Darára,‡ a village some six miles west of Tonk, between British forces and the Thákur of Darára. The British force was commanded by Captain Hutchinson. The

* Afterwards Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Brown, K.C.B. He had the local rank of captain in Bencoolen.

† Retired on half pay, July 30th, 1800.

‡ Properly spelt "Dhálra." *Vide* sheet No. 22, Topographical Survey.

[1] G. O. dated Fort William, November 26th, 1790.

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Darára village lost about seventy men. General Lake visited Tonk three days before Captain Hutchinson's arrival.*

When General Lake was fighting with Bhurtpore, Captain Hutchinson was engaged against the fort of Aligarh, then known as Rámpur.† It was occupied by Máhrátá Pandits.‡ The Pandits were defeated, and left the fort through a by-way. They were said to have found shelter in the fort of Khatáoli, of Aligarh, in Tonk. On receipt of this information, the British troops proceeded to Khatáoli with two guns. Soon after arrival at Khatáoli, the British officers discovered that the fort was garrisoned by Mewátties. The guns were posted in front of the entrance-gate of the fort. The Mewátties fired a volley of matchlocks on the British, and after that begged to be allowed to depart, which being complied with, the Mewátties evacuated the fort.

After this success, the British forces marched towards Bundi. In that state the forces plundered Dhehi and Karwar. From the latter place, Captain Hutchinson and Kutumb§ Sahib separated from the forces and went to Aligarh, where Captain Hutchinson died a natural death.

The above information has been received from aged chaudris, kanungos, and others, who further stated that there are no such places as Zamina, Báhmangáon, Bhimgarh, Báhmankhera, or Karwal in Tonk. [Translation.]

(Signed) J. J. BERKELEY,
Officiating Political Agent, Harawati and Tonk.

* This refers to General Lake having marched southward as far as Nowái (or Narwáhi), about sixteen miles north-east of Tonk, from whence, on the 8th of May, 1804, Lieut.-Colonel Don was detached to take the place. See Note D.

† It bears the name of Rámpur on the Indian atlas, sheet No. 51.

‡ Pandits, or Bráhmans; hence the name Báhmangáon (Bráhman village) given to it in the despatches.

§ I have not been able to identify this name.

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CHAPTER VIII.

MÁHRÁTÁ WAR—SECOND CAMPAIGN, 1804-1805—General Lake's task—Army assembled at Agra—Marches on Muttra—Defence of Delhi—Relief—Lake follows Holkar—Relief of Shámli—Lake's pursuit of Holkar down the Doáb—Rapid marching—Holkar surprised and routed at Fatehgarh—Honourable mention of the horse artillery—Battle of DEEG—Siege of DEEG—Description of the Fortress—Enemy's force—Ours—Position taken up—Batteries erected—Breaching commenced—Lieutenant L. R. Grove killed—Storm and capture—Honourable mention of the artillery and of Lieut.-Colonel Horsford—Observations—Investment of BHURTPORE—Inadequacy of means—Position taken up—First battery—Enemy stockade the breach—Lieutenant G. Percival killed—First assault—Failure—Observations—Siege prosecuted—Reinforcements under Major-General Smith—Amir Khán joins the enemy—Native reconnaissance—Second assault—Failure—Observations—Enemy endeavour to carry off supplies—Are twice defeated—Amir Khán's irruption into Rohilkhand—Pursued by Major-General Smith—He is expelled from British territory—Severe work done by cavalry and horse artillery—Army changes ground—Siege operations recommenced—Force from Bombay joins—Batteries—Premature breaching again noticed—Trenches pushed forward—Sortie—Enemy destroy a battery—Another sortie—Third assault—Failure—Artillery casualties—Fourth assault—Failure—Casualties—Observations—Army changes ground again—Siege converted into an investment—Lake attacks Holkar—Peace.

1804 THE task which General Lake now had before him was to beat Holkar, and restore the reputation of the British name, which his error in detaching Colonel Monson's force to such a distance, without providing for its

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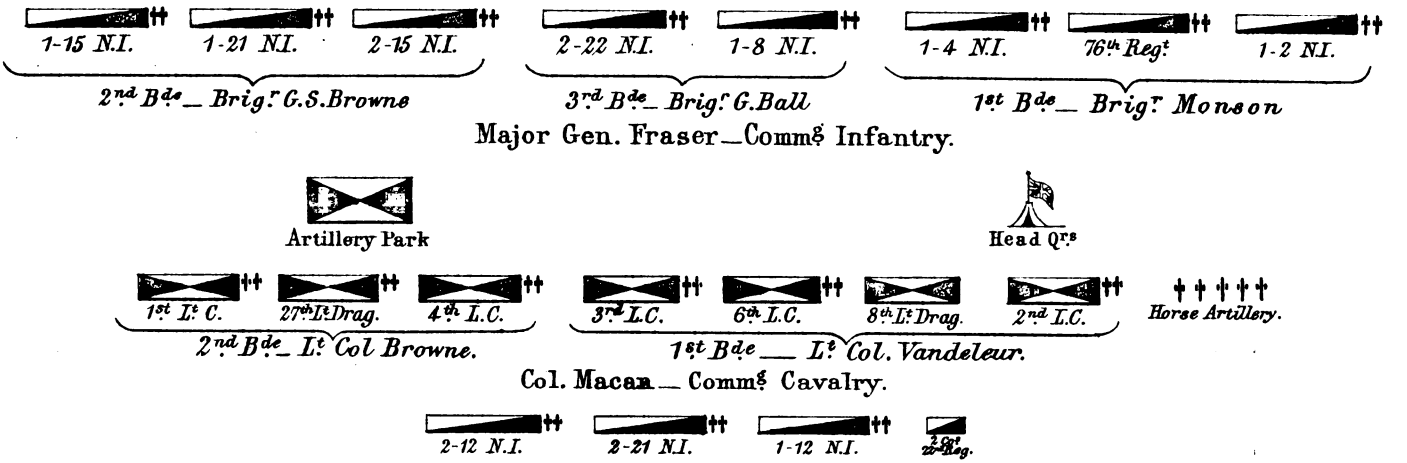
ORDER OF BRIGADING OF THE ARMY UNDER LT GEN: LAKE AT SIKANDRA, ON THE 27TH SEPTEMBER, 1804.



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support and the security of its communications, had temporarily shaken. It is a truth never to be lost sight of in India, that in no part of the country are our communications ever secure unless kept open by our own forces, and that anything like a reverse most surely tends to deepen insecurity into danger, especially when they lie within the power or influence of a native ruler. Even now, when the main lines of the peninsula are spanned by railways, the danger, though it has diminished, has not yet ceased to exist. The many tribes and castes, whose former habits of life were entirely or chiefly predatory, though now tamed into reasonably good subjects, would find the hereditary instinct starting into active operation were opportunity to offer. And we have good reason to know how little dependence is to be placed even upon the well-disposed for moving of themselves towards the re-establishing of order. 1804

General Lake, on hearing of the disaster, was prompt in action. The British regiments and horse artillery at Cawnpore were ordered up to Agra, where they arrived about the 22nd of September. Holkar had already advanced as far as Muttra, which the garrison (four battalions of infantry and two regiments of cavalry) abandoned upon his approach, retiring upon Agra. Notwithstanding, the advance of the British troops from Cawnpore induced the Máhrátás to recross the Jumna; but small parties hung about everywhere, evading action, attacking baggage, stragglers, and followers whenever opportunity presented itself, and sparing nothing too weak to resist. September

Colonel Macan's camp, between Agra and Sikandra, was the rendezvous, and here the army was brigaded on the 27th of September. *See* PLATE XIX.

On the 1st of October the army marched upon October

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1804 October

Muttra; * near which place they halted, as the Máhrátás were closing in upon the rear, and there was a supply of grain coming up. This, however, fell into their hands. On the 7th, the commander-in-chief, leaving the camp under charge of Lieut.-Colonel Horsford, beat up the enemy's quarters at Aring; † but they were on the alert, and could not be drawn into an action. A similar attempt was made on the 10th with a like result; only about thirty of the enemy were killed and a few made prisoners, whom the general dismissed with a rupee each, and a message to Holkar that none but cowards misused their prisoners—useless advice to a Máhrátá.

But Holkar had gone on to Delhi, thinking to seize upon the person of the old Emperor of Delhi. The defence of this city with its extensive cirumference, from the 8th to the 14th of October, is an instance of what may be done with limited means against overwhelming odds. And though it is true that Lake was not far off, still to Lieut.-Colonel Ochterlony, the resident, and to Lieut.-Colonel W. Burn, commanding the garrison, the highest praise is due. A determined attempt to carry the place on the morning of the 14th was repulsed; and Holkar, hearing that the English army had left Muttra, drew off his forces and sent the infantry, with nearly all his guns, to Bhurtpore. A treaty had been made with the Rájá of this place, at the close of the previous year, by the British Government, but the seductions of his friends proved too much for his faith.

Lake arrived at Delhi on the 18th, and Holkar remained in the vicinity till the 29th, when he suddenly

* For the route throughout the campaign, see Note A in the appendix to this chapter.

† Called Aurungábád by Thorn.

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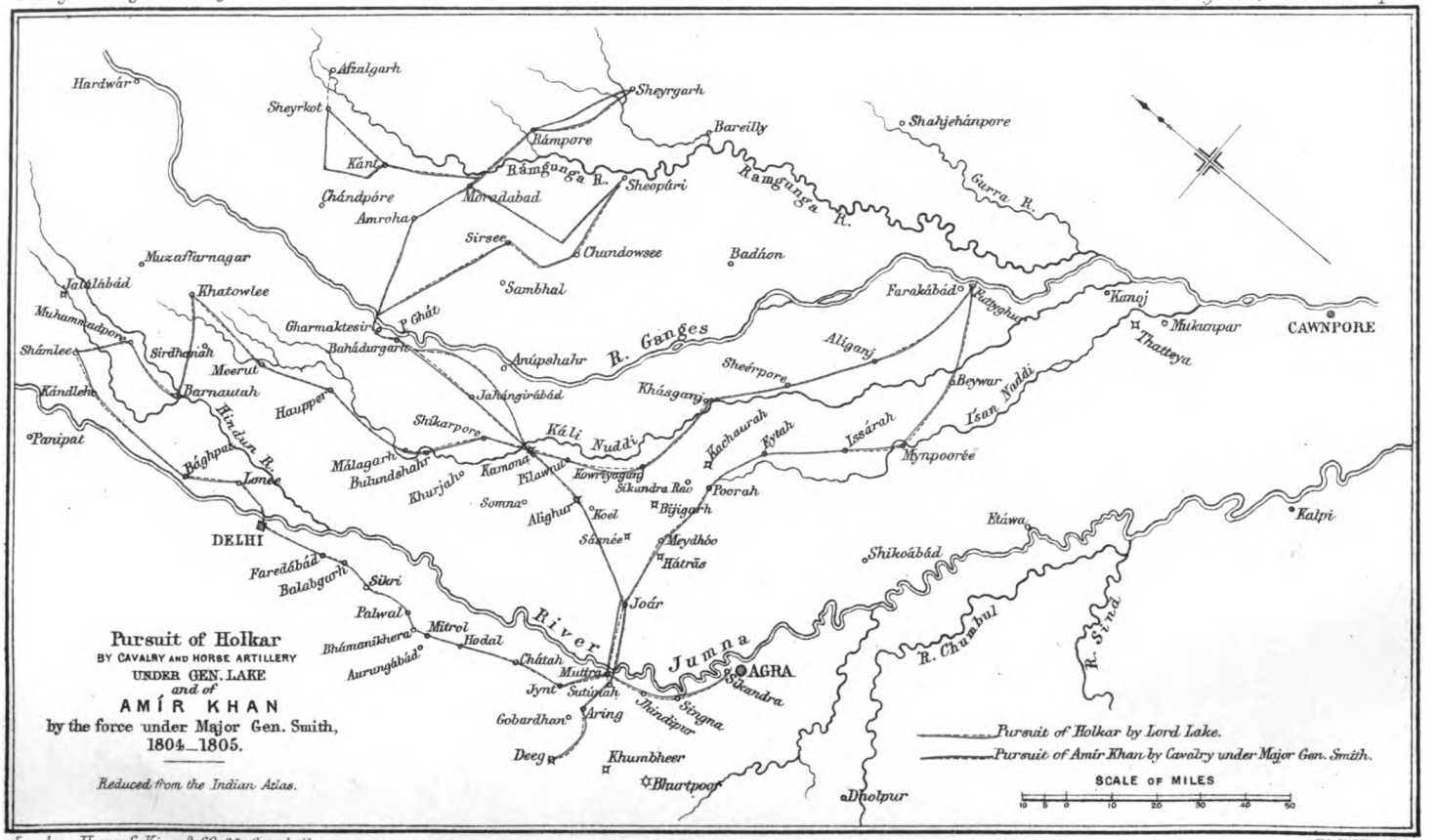

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crossed the Jumna near Pánipat, overtook Colonel Burn as he was returning with his battalion and the 1—21st N.I., to Saháranpur, and attacked and blockaded him in Shámli. The commander-in-chief, therefore, leaving Major-General Fraser with three infantry brigades and two regiments of cavalry to follow the enemy's main force towards Deeg, prepared to pursue Holkar with the rest of the cavalry, the horse artillery under Captain C. Brown, and the reserve under Lieut.-Colonel Don. He left Delhi on the 31st, and by a forced march from Bághpat of 28 miles to Kándhlah, and a short one of 12 miles to Shámli, obliged Holkar to quit that place, which he did; turning southwards and sweeping along the centre of the Doáb, intending to carry out the threat of plunder and devastation in his letter to General Wellesley.

1804 October

November

But he was not himself allowed much time to breathe, for now commenced the pursuit which long made Lake's name famous in India, and ranks among the most remarkable of similar feats in war. The distances marched have been differently stated, so it will be more satisfactory to the reader to have the marches themselves from official authority. The route given in Note A in the appendix to this chapter is from records in the office of the quarter-master general Bengal army, as published in Henley's "Code of Regulations." The infantry, under that excellent officer, Lieut.-Colonel Don, bore their share of the hard work with ready cheerfulness. That the horses were able to accomplish it is the best proof we could have of their good condition and training. The irregularly armed and lightly equipped cavalry of the country, clad in cotton, and carrying little or nothing with them but their arms, were an average weight upon their horses of perhaps twelve stone, all told, but no British dragoon

PLATE No. XX.

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1804 November could come near that with his equipment. It is true our horses have always been better selected and cared for, and as a rule do a longer term of work; but natives, left to themselves, take the most they can out of animals which originally cost little, and care little how long they last, so that present requirements are satisfied.

A party of the enemy's horse was sighted on the 7th, but declined to try conclusions. Next day, General Lake left Colonel Burn with a detachment at Meerut, and followed; the enemy keeping about twenty-five miles ahead. Their course was towards Fatehgarh, the residents of which station, mostly civilians, hearing of Holkar's approach, had collected with their families in the barracks, where they must have fallen an easy prey to the unsparing Máhrátás. A small party of native infantry, which had been left here, was held by its officers in readiness to meet the foe. Ensign John Hunter Littler,* a young officer of four years' service, was located in another part of the station, with his company of sepoys. He too had his little force drawn out on the parade ground ready for action.

Lake, on reaching Aliganj on the morning of the 16th, determined to catch up his enemy before they could destroy the place, and ordered the cavalry and horse artillery to move on again in the evening, leaving Colonel Don, with the infantry and Skinner's irregular horse, to bring on the baggage. As they mounted, the intelligence arrived of Major-General Fraser's victory at Deeg—a happy omen of success. The moon was up, and the night mild and pleasant. Major Salkeld, the quarter-master general, had good intelligence, and picked up more as they went along.

Holkar was said to have been sitting this night at a

* Afterwards Lieut.-General Sir John Hunter Littler, G.C.B.

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"nách," * when, at a late hour, the news of his defeat at Deeg was brought to him, and to have retired to rest without mentioning it to his chiefs. He was probably revolving by what foul atrocities he could compensate himself here before the approach of Lake should warn him to fly. When the night was nearly past, he was alarmed by a not very distant report. His attendants believed, and told him, that it was only the usual morning gun that was fired at Fatehgarh. Sharper ears might have told him there was a warning in the direction from which the sound came. The villagers had no guns. It was the explosion of an English ammunition waggon, in which some powder had probably got shaken out among the shot; and waggons do not usually explode at a walk. Holkar, however, believed his servants. Had not his scouts left Lake late in the afternoon in his camp, more than thirty miles off, and resting after a longer march than usual? So he thought no more of it. But, the avenger was very close at hand. Round his tent lay his men, with their horses picqueted beside them, and, wrapped in their blankets, slept unconscious till, as the first gray light of morning appeared, discharges of grape from the horse artillery guns told them who had arrived; and they woke to find the dragoons among them, the 8th Royal Irish leading the way. The carnage was considerable; and as the discomfited host fled, they were pursued for *ten miles* in different directions. Holkar, convinced with difficulty of the truth, had mounted and escaped

1804 November

* The almost invariable evening's amusement of an Eastern monarch. The dancing girls used to possess a larger share of literary accomplishment than the generality of the opposite sex; it was part of their profession. They very commonly composed the songs they sang. Holkar was known to have made his dance round the head of a European soldier fixed on a pole before him, while they celebrated his victories, and taunted the remains of their dead enemy.

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1804 November

early in the fray, not stopping till he was eighteen miles on the road to Mainpuri.

He left behind him more than the three thousand followers whose bodies strewed the ground; he left, in a death more dishonourable than theirs, the prestige which his remorseless cruelties had raised high in the eyes of the native powers of India—perhaps higher than that of any Máhrátá chieftain since the days of Sivaji. Our loss was only two dragoons killed, and about twenty Europeans and natives wounded, and seventy-five horses.*

The praise which General Lake bestowed in general orders upon the patience, perseverance, and discipline shown by his men in the fatigues they had undergone, and upon their activity and resolution in attack, was never better deserved. In his despatch he mentions the horse artillery in the following terms:—

"I have great satisfaction in reporting to your lordship the very meritorious conduct of Captain Brown and the corps of horse artillery under his command, who, by the rapidity of their movements, were able to do great execution. Captain Brown's great attention in the management of his corps, and his zeal and activity when called into action, have on every occasion merited my best acknowledgments."

Three royal salutes were fired this day: one for this achievement, one for the victory at Deeg, and one for the capture, by Colonel Wallace, of Chandore in Central India.

Major-General Fraser left Delhi a few days after the commander-in-chief, and reached Gobardhan, about eight miles east of Deeg, beneath the walls of which lay Holkar's army, on the 10th. Here he was joined by the European regiment. On the 12th he moved to within about two miles from the place. On the south of the

* Of which the horse artillery share was 1 lascar and 7 horses killed; 1 European, 1 native, and 4 horses wounded.

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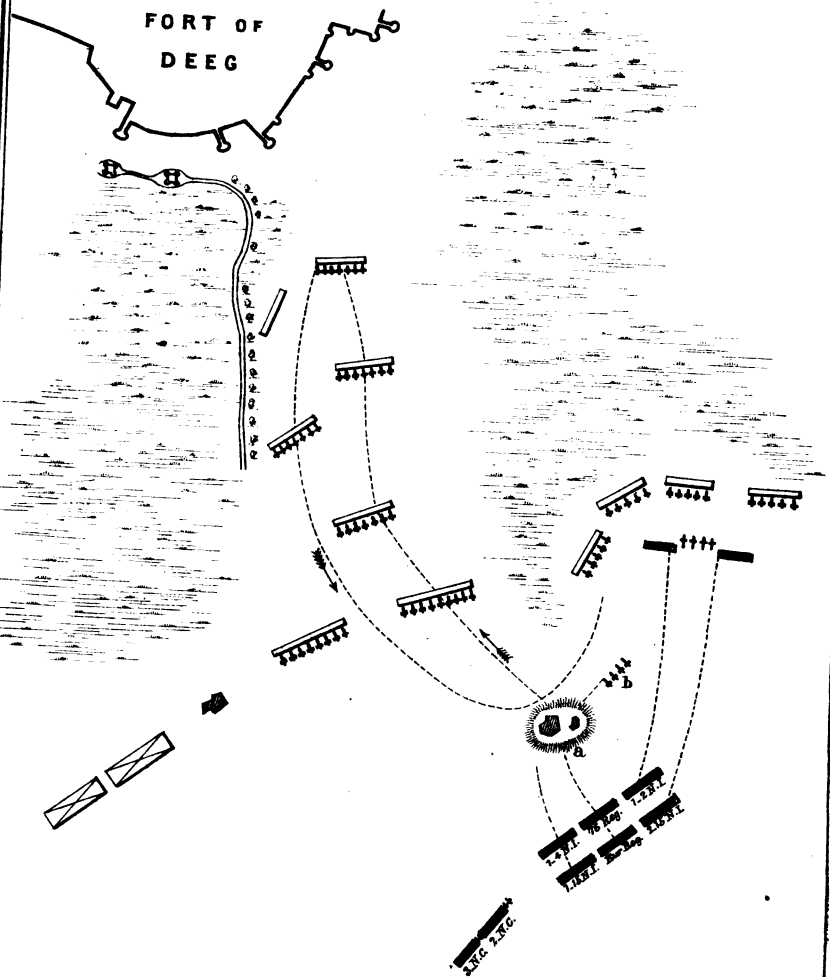

PLAN OF THE

BATTLE OF DEEG

13th November, 1804.

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town was a large marsh, or rather lake, and to the south-east an extensive swamp, both at this time impassable. In the space between lay the enemy, their left resting on the fort itself, and fronting to the east, apparently expecting a direct attack. They had seen beyond the swamp several of the English officers viewing their position on the 12th. But General Fraser, marching at 3 a.m. on the 13th, moved downwards and round the swamp, thus taking them on the right flank. Lieut.-Colonel G. Ball followed with the 1—8th and 2—22nd N.I., then forming the 3rd Brigade, and the baggage. The enemy's force consisted of twenty-four battalions, with about 160 guns. Their position was a bad one against a powerful artillery, being open to flank attack; but the English guns were only 6-pounders, and of these there were but twenty. 1804 November

After passing a village to the south of the swamp at daybreak, the head of the column was discovered and fired into. As they approached another village (*a*) occupied by the enemy, they appeared to be changing front to receive the English; and soon the shot from a number of guns were plunging into the ranks of the latter. Line was formed to the right, the 1st Brigade in front; and both, after inclining to the right, attacked and carried the village without difficulty. From this elevated ground it was seen that the left of the enemy lay south of the swamp, which at one point extended down towards the village, separating it from the right and the centre,* which appeared to be arranged in *See* PLATE XXI.

* The plan of the battle given cannot pretend to any great accuracy, as those from which it is taken (Thorn, "Military Repository," and *East Indian United Service Journal*) are only themselves partially or roughly correct. But by comparison of these with a modern map, and all the different accounts of the action which have come under my notice, certain modifications have been introduced into the present plan, which is at least as accurate as any of its predecessors.

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1804 November several successive ranges of batteries almost to the walls of Deeg. As the 1st Brigade emerged from the village it came under a destructive fire of round and chain shot, and the 76th, running down the hill, charged the first line, bayoneting the gunners at their posts. The other European regiment, descending the hill and seeing their countrymen far ahead among the enemy, rushed forward in support, followed by the left battalions of each line. In this manner, one battery after another was taken; but there was no one to secure the captured ordnance, and a party of horse getting among them, opened fire upon our rear; whereupon a noble soldier of the 76th, Captain Norford, with only 28 men, but all heroes, turning back, charged and retook them, giving his life in exchange for the safety of his comrades in arms.

General Fraser at the village had been struck by a shot which carried off his leg, and Colonel Monson was now in command. The guns on the enemy's right had been carried, with the exception of those who got under the protection of the fort, which opened its fire upon our soldiers; and the regiments returning were exposed to a heavy fire of 18 and 12-pounders from the other flank.

At the first advance upon the village (*a*), three light guns, with three subalterns, had been posted at a small rising ground, from whence they kept up an effective fire till the infantry charged down, suffering however somewhat from the enemy's return fire, after which they moved up to the village.

The two regiments on the right of each line had not accompanied the others beyond the village, but, keeping to that flank, got within range of a heavy fire, and were obliged to shelter themselves under favour of the ground; but when the European regiments re-

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turning suffered from it, they were ordered forward, with four 6-pounders under Lieutenant M. W. Browne in advance. Lieutenant G. Pollock served with these guns. They were no match in weight for those opposed, but the energy and accuracy of their fire was marked. The guns at the village were moved out to the front and brought into action. At this time the 76th and European regiment, coming round the swamp, advanced with the two battalions already engaged, supported by a regiment of cavalry; and the enemy were driven from their guns back into the swamp in their rear. The number of gunshot wounds among the enemy, who lay about, showed that the artillery had done their work. Lieutenant-Colonel Ball, arriving with his brigade, after having secured, took charge of the captured guns and the wounded. 1804 November

The victory was complete. The enemy were driven from a strong position, and lost 87 guns and about 2000 killed; and the English army encamped on the field of battle. It was glorious, for it was won by barely 6000 men, with not more than 20 guns, and those only 6-pounders. But it cost us dearly, for the killed and wounded amounted to 651,* of whom 22 were officers. The casualties among the artillery † were 10 Europeans and 63 natives of all grades; 59 bullocks, and the charger of one of the officers upon the staff. ‡ Of the ordnance captured from the enemy, six iron

* From the copy of Colonel Monson's despatch, sent me from the office of the foreign secretary to Government; 643 is the number usually given.

† See Note B in the appendix to this chapter.

‡ It was Captain Butler's. There was an officer of the 12th N.I. left in camp on account of ill health, when the regiment went after Holkar, and who was sharing the tent of an artillery officer. The evening before the action, Ensign James Bowyer wrote to Colonel Monson for permission to join the 76th Regiment as a volunteer for the day; and

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1804 November 18-pounder guns had been presented to the Máhrátás at Seringapatam, in 1792, by Lord Cornwallis; also two 12 and eleven 6-pounder guns, and one 4⅘-inch howitzer which Colonel Monson had left behind during his retreat.

In his despatch Colonel Monson mentions Lieut.-Colonel Horsford as one to whom his thanks were particularly due. The artillery officers present in this action were :—*

Lieut.-Colonel John Horsford.
Captain John F. Paschaud, 1st Company, 1st Battalion.
Capt.-Lieutenant† Edward W. Butler, brigade-major.
Lieutenant Marmaduke W. Brown, quarter-master.
,, Samuel S. Hay, 3rd Company, 2nd Battalion.
,, George Swiney, 1st Company, 1st Battalion.
,, Rayner Gowing, 2nd Company, 1st Battalion.
,, Richard Tickell.‡
,, George Pollock, 3rd Company, 1st Battalion.
,, John D. Smith, 4th Company, 2nd Battalion.

The conduct of the Rájá of Bhurtpore, in actively assisting Holkar's army during these proceedings, left but one course open; consequently the army moved over to Muttra, whence the captured guns were sent to Agra under an escort, which was to return with a battering December train for the siege of Deeg. Next day General Lake,

the latter replied he would make him his aide-de-camp. Lieutenant Rayner Gowing, "a stout Suffolk lad," furnished him with a charger, which, like its master, was of goodly dimensions, whereas the impromptu staff officer was of such diminutive size, that it was certain that if once hoisted into the saddle, nothing but necessity or a shot from the enemy would have induced him to dismount. (*East India United Service Journal*, ii. 458.) So there were four staff officers' horses from the artillery in the field. Young Bowyer was killed very shortly afterwards, at the storming of Deeg; and poor Gowing, the following February, offered too fair a mark to the garrison of Bhurtpore.

* This list is from a memorandum given me by Sir George Pollock.

† His promotion to the rank of captain-lieutenant was not yet gazetted.

‡ Afterwards transferred to the engineers; posting at this time not known.

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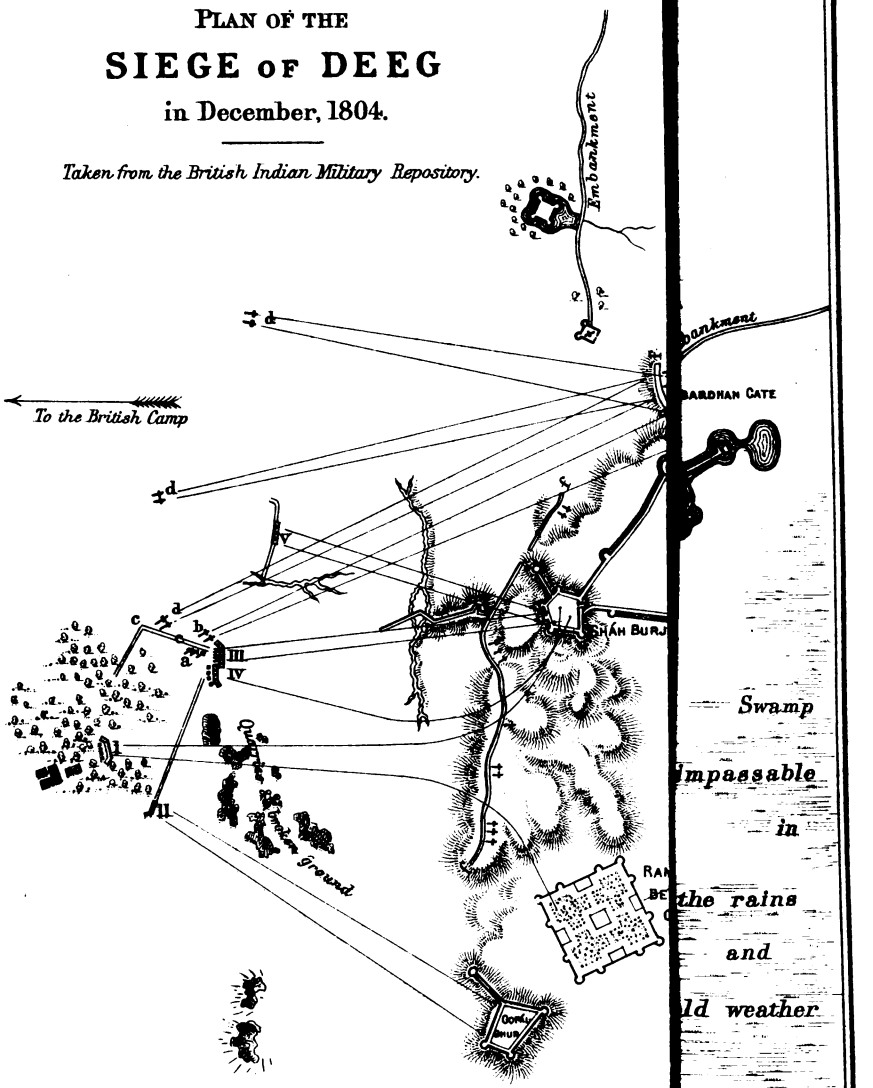
PLAN OF THE SIEGE OF DEEG in December, 1804.

Taken from the British Indian Military Repository.



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with the cavalry, rejoined; and after a halt of two days, marched * to Khairaswámi, where being joined on the 10th by the reserve, under Lieut.-Colonel Don, with the battering train, they changed ground next day, and upon the 12th took up a position before the town. 1804 December

The plan of Deeg will give a tolerably good idea of the nature of the defences. Its ramparts varied from 25 to 36 feet in height, and carried 31 guns of various calibre, from 74 to 4-pounders. The remains of a ditch could be traced all round, except at the Sháh Burj, on the south-west angle: a work with an interior area of about fifty yards square, on a high rocky eminence, with several bastions, in one of which was a 74-pounder mounted on a block (*i.e.* garrison) carriage. The ramparts of this work were of earth, as were also those of the other sides of the town; but the walls at this angle were of masonry, and 36 feet in height. Those of the citadel on the south-east quarter of the town were of stone masonry, from 70 to 100 feet high, and from 20 to 50 feet thick, with a wet ditch not very deep; and mounted 28 guns, from 60 to 1-pounder, and 20 zamburaks or 1-pounder swivels. Outside the town the enemy had 21 guns and howitzers; in all 80 guns and 20 zamburaks. *See* PLATE XXII.

Besides the garrison within the walls, Holkar's infantry were entrenched outside (*f f f f*) and among the ravines and broken ground, while the cavalry were about two miles distant, behind the low hills which skirted the western side of the lake beyond. Our forces numbered,

* The order of marching, with a view to the protection of the baggage and followers (some 60,000 men) from the enemy's numerous cavalry, was in two columns, about 600 yards apart, covered in front by the reserve as an advanced guard, and in rear by the whole of the picquets, strengthened by a regiment of cavalry. Within this square, besides the park and followers, moved the cattle, estimated by Major Thorn at 200 elephants, 2000 camels, and 100,000 laden bullocks.

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1804 December besides a small proportion of artillery and engineers, 8050 men, viz.:—

	Europeans.	Natives.	Total.
Cavalry	750 ...	1650 ...	2400
Infantry	650 ...	5000 ...	5650

At 9 o'clock p.m., Colonel Don, with the European regiment, the reserve, and six 6-pounder and four 12-pounder guns, took possession of a grove somewhat more than half a mile from the Shâh Burj without resistance, and there entrenched themselves. The pioneers, under Lieutenants Swinton and Forrest, constructed a small parallel about three hundred yards long, and commenced upon a mortar battery (No. I.) at a small village within the grove, at 1100 yards, with one for two 6-pounders (No. II.), on the right of the trenches. Two howitzers were placed in the village to annoy the enemy's entrenchments, but being much exposed were withdrawn.*

During the night of the 14th, a breaching battery for six 18-pounders (No. III.), at 800 yards from the Burj, was commenced on, and four 8-inch mortars were placed in No. I. The matchlock-men in the mud fort of Gopálghar, and in the ravines and quarries, were very annoying, and caused several casualties. The mortar battery opened next day.

On the night of the 16th, four 18-pounders were placed in No. III., which was completed. Another battery

* The author of "Military Autobiography" says that the enemy were throwing shells, which, as they were known to have come into their hands during the retreat upon Agra, were greeted whenever they burst with cries of "Thank you, Colonel Monson." But one of them having killed or wounded thirteen men, Colonel Don ordered four (two by other accounts) field-pieces to open from the village. The enemy in return concentrated the fire of twelve or fifteen guns on the spot, which speedily levelled every house, and necessitated their withdrawal.—*East Indian United Service Journal*, ii. 630.

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(No. IV.) for four 5½-inch mortars was constructed on the right of the breaching battery, and two 5½-inch howitzers (*a*) and two brass 12-pounders (*b*) were placed to keep down the fire from the ravines and face of the fort. The breaching battery opened with four guns on the 17th, and two more were placed in position during the night following; and their fire, which at first had been directed upon the curtain, was on the 18th ordered to bear upon the principal bastion of the Sháh Burj. The enemy, who had entrenched themselves below it, kept up a hot fire upon the batteries and trenches, their guns enfilading the left of the parallel (*c c*), which, being thrown back at right angles to that portion between Batteries II. and IV., and in a direct line, was at a great disadvantage. A hot musketry fire was kept up on both sides during the night, and much ammunition thus was uselessly expended.* 1804 December

December 20th.—Lieutenant Leslie R. Grove, of the artillery, was killed in the breaching battery this day. As this battery did not sufficiently answer expectations, another (No. V.) for three 18-pounders was constructed further to the right, and opened on the morning of the 21st with good effect. In order to keep down the fire from the enemy's entrenchments outside, several 12 and 6-pounders were placed in positions (*d d d*) uncovered, and retired further back than the attack. These arrangements had a good result: the enemy's fire sensibly diminished, and on the 23rd, the breaches being reported practicable, the assault was ordered.

Three columns were told off for this duty. The centre, under Lieut.-Colonel Macrae, consisting of the flank companies of the European regiments and the 1st—8th N.I., was to storm the breach in the Sháh

* About 10,000 rounds each night was expended on our side.

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1804 December

Burj; the right, under Captain Kelly, of four companies of the Bengal European Regiment and five of the 1st—12th N.I., to carry the enemy's batteries outside, between the Sháh Burj and Gopálghar; the left column, under Major Radcliffe, was composed of the remaining companies of the same regiments, and was to carry the entrenchments and batteries on that side. Captain G. Raban, with a party of artillerymen, accompanied for the purpose of spiking and securing the guns.

The columns moved down to the trenches, and thence upon the points assigned to them. It was midnight, but the enemy were not taken unawares. They contested the ground and defended their guns well; the gunners, using their swords when they could not fire, were bayoneted at their posts.* But yard by yard they were driven back, and the moon fortunately rising, enabled our men to secure what they had gained. The centre column, meanwhile, had gained a footing in the Sháh Burj, and dislodged the enemy from its interior. This was connected with the town by a narrow passage terminated by an archway, from which the gates had been removed. The garrison made many efforts to recover the work; and it was not until 4 o'clock in the morning that their efforts ceased, and they left the gateway to the victors, blocked up with their dead.

There was less difficulty in driving them out of the town, though the citadel was still held. Preparations were made for its assault, and Lieutenant G. Pollock was detailed, with two 12-pounders, for the duty of blowing in the gates. While proceeding for this duty to join Colonel Macrae at the palace, without a guide, Lieu-

* The natives of India have always had a faith, amounting to superstition, in their guns, and have ever clung to them in battle with a tenacity they did not show for any other weapon.

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tenant Pollock missed his way, and had not Lieutenant S. S. Hay fortunately seen and set him on the right road, he might have fallen into the enemy's hands. He was prepared to blow in the gates, according to orders, that evening. But Christmas Day was even now coming on, and the bazars in camp and town contained spirits; so the storm had to be deferred. The interval gave the enemy time to think of evacuating the place, of which they availed themselves. 1804 December

The services of the artillery* during this siege were acknowledged by the commander-in-chief in the following terms:—

"His Excellency would be wanting in justice were he not to express his highest sense of the merits of the whole of the officers and men employed at Deeg, more particularly to Lieut.-Colonel Horsford and the artillery." [1]

And in his despatch of the 26th, describing the assault, the commander-in-chief writes:

"The success of this party was complete, and entitles Captain Kelly to every praise for the manner in which it was conducted, and for the coolness and gallantry which he displayed under very distressing circumstances, exposed to a very heavy fire from artillery, which was defended with desperate resolution. Captain Raban, of the artillery, who accompanied this party for the purpose of spiking or bringing off the captured ordnance, particularly signalized himself on this dangerous service. . . .

"It is unnecessary for me to detail more fully the conduct of individuals, on a service where merit has been through all ranks so eminently conspicuous; but I feel it my duty to draw your lordship's attention to the services rendered by Lieut.-Colonel Horsford, commanding the artillery, to whose professional knowledge and activity throughout the siege, and on every other occasion, I feel infinitely indebted, as well as to the whole of that corps for their spirited and unremitted attention."

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* For the names of the officers, see appendix to this chapter, Note C.

[1] G. O. 25th December, 1804.

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1804 December

The following companies of the regiment were those which were present throughout the siege of Deeg. It does not appear whether the whole of each company had shared also in the battle of Deeg previously, but from the names of the officers it seems certain that details from all were present on both occasions.

1-23 R.A	1st	Company,	1st Battalion	
A-19 R.A.	2nd	,,	,,	
1-22 R.A.	3nd	,,	,,	
3-23 R.A.	1st	,,	2nd Battalion	
Reduced in 1825	3rd	,,	,,	Possibly only details
Reduced in 1825	4th	,,	,,	of these two companies,

besides the troop of horse artillery, under Captain Clement Brown. A-C, R.H.A.

In this siege our means were very inadequate, not only as regarded the limited strength of the force generally, but particularly as to the siege equipment and the numbers of the artillerymen and pioneers. The working parties were supplemented by volunteers from the dragoons, although from the necessity of protecting convoys, and the numerous bodies of the enemy's cavalry hovering about the vicinity, this branch, with the horse artillery, had their hands tolerably full already. The Sháh Burj being, as it were, a key to the place, was judiciously selected as the point of attack; but the approaches would have been rendered more secure had possession been taken of Gopálghar as a preliminary. This place throughout was a source of annoyance and loss of life; it commanded a considerable portion of the trenches, and was a *point d'appui* for the enemy's outside works,* on which they appeared to depend for defence almost more than upon the ramparts. Had the breaches been repaired,

* *Vide* observations on the siege by Major C. Hay Campbell. "Military Repository," vol. iv. p. 470.

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which, from the distance of all the batteries, would not have been very difficult, the casualties would have been greater among the besiegers. As it was, they amounted to 4 officers and 39 men killed; 13 officers and 171 men wounded. 1804 December

Leaving a native regiment to garrison Deeg, the commander-in-chief moved towards Bhurtpore. Major General W. Dowdeswell, with the 75th Regiment and a supply of stores, joined him on the way.

Bhurtpore was of an irregular oblong figure, about eight miles in circumference, surrounded by a thick forest of trees and low jungle. It was enclosed by a high and broad earthern rampart, flanked at short intervals by solid circular bastions, some of which were connected with the curtain by a long neck or passage. An irregular wide ditch, in some places deep, encircled the whole; and this, on the approach of the British force, was inundated from a piece of water to the north-west. Nearly in the centre was a large citadel, similarly defended. In short, with a large garrison, strengthened by the fugitives from Deeg and Holkar's followers, the fortress was every way formidable. 1805 January

The force which sat down before it was, on the other hand, absurdly inadequate; the *matériel* even more so. Its numerical effective strength in round numbers was—

Dragoons	800
Native cavalry	1600
European infantry	1000
Native infantry	4400
	7800

The horse artillery consisted of one troop, with three officers.

The foot artillery, at first, of one lieutenant-colonel,

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1805 January

4 captains, 7 subalterns, 184 non-commissioned officers, rank and file; 492 gun-lascars, 137 irregular golandáz, and 174 lascars who had lately come over from Sindiah's service. The companies were—*

1-23 R.A.	1st	Company,	1st	Battalion.
A-19 R.A.	2nd	,,	1st	,,
1-22 R.A.	3rd	,,	1st	,,
Reduced in 1825	3rd	,,	2nd	,,

The engineer department consisted of three officers and three companies of pioneers, each under command of an infantry officer.

The ordnance consisted of—

	Guns.			Howitzers.		Mortars.	
	18pr.	12pr.	6pr.	5½in.	4⅝in.	8in.	5½in.
Horse artillery	...	...	4	2	—	—	—
Cavalry gallopers	...	...	14	—	—	—	—
Battalion guns	...	...	22	—	—	—	—
Field-pieces in park or battery ...	...	7	8	6	2	—	—
Siege equipment	6†	...	...	..	...	4	4
Total	6	7	48	8	2	4	4

Of siege *matériel*, and indeed of ordnance stores of all kinds, the nearest depôt was Allahabad. The lately acquired fort of Agra might have been made an advanced magazine; and the Government of the day has been blamed for neglecting this precaution, while their policy involved them in hostilities with so many powerful enemies. The commander-in-chief, too, unaccustomed to delay, failed to appreciate the obstacle which lay before him. A seemingly dilapidated, shapeless rampart, lofty, but furrowed down its irregular slopes with many a

* See Note F in the appendix to this chapter.

† Cast at the Carron foundry.

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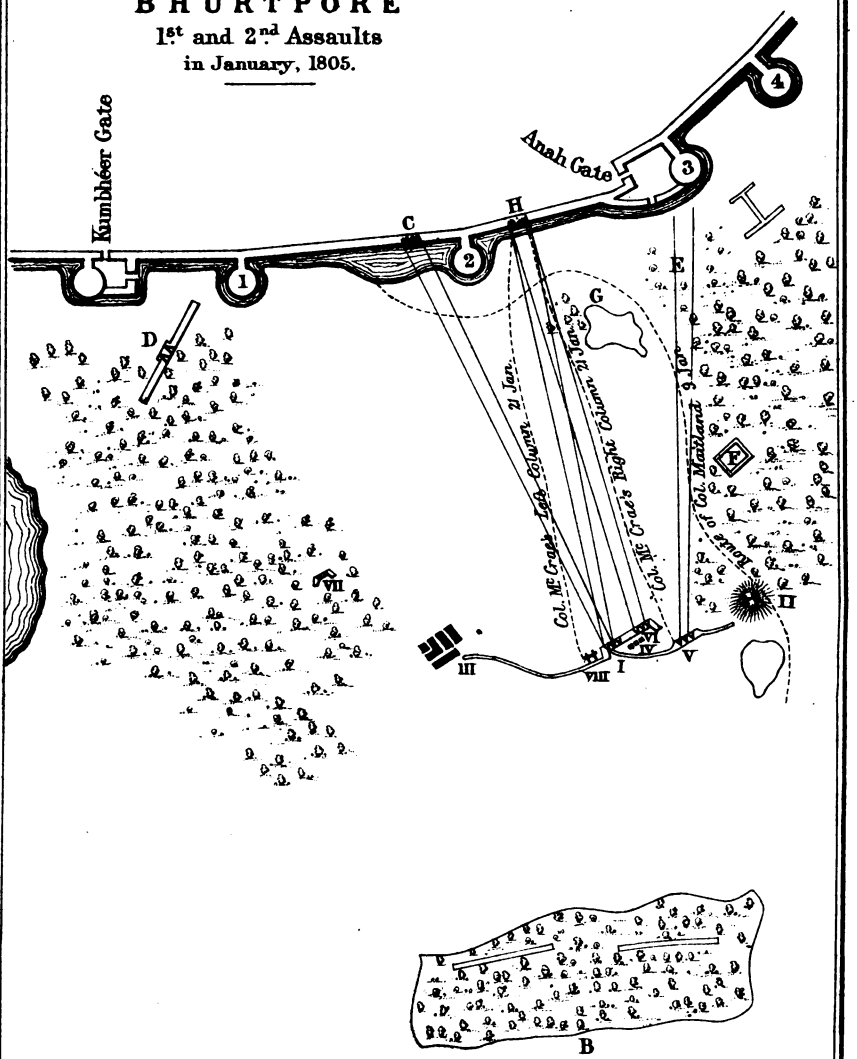
SIEGE OF BHURTPORE

1st and 2nd Assaults in January, 1805.



Taken from the British Indian Military Repository.

London: Henry S. King & Co. 65, Cornhill. Edw. Weller, Sculp.

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water-way; patched up here and there by coolie handi- 1805 January
work—it seemed as if it would be a disgrace to English valour and European science to be detained long before it. He could not stop to inquire what were all the obstacles between him and the breach, and follow patiently, step by step, the path which experience should have told him must be followed before it could be reached by his soldiers.

So his engineer officers, catching perhaps the spirit of impatience, appeared to have hurried on their proceedings, omitting some important considerations; but it is a question whether success was possible after the first two failures.

On the 2nd of January the army encamped about two miles south-west of the fortress. The materials for fascines, gabions, etc., had to be collected, and all the quarter-masters' establishments were placed under the orders of the senior engineer. During the night possession was taken by a detachment of N.I., with two guns, of a deserted village in front of the centre of the camp, *See* PLATE XXIII. about 2000 yards from the walls; beyond this, and about 800 yards nearer, a garden, surrounded by a low mud wall (B), was filled with matchlock-men. From this garden, one bastion with part of the ramparts of the town, everywhere else hidden from view by the dense jungle, was visible. It was taken on the night of the 3rd by a party of infantry with two guns, under command of Lieut.-Colonel Maitland, 75th Regiment, and an entrenchment thrown up.

In front of this, and about 500 yards nearer the town, the spot for a battery (No. I.) was fixed upon; but as it would be exposed to enfilade from the enemy posted to the right and left in the thick jungle, two posts were occupied the same evening—one, called the Sandhill

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1805 January

post (No. II.), on the right rear and upon the edge of the wood, was armed with two 6-pounder guns; the other was established in some mud huts (No. III.) to the left. The two were about 400 yards apart, but at first were unconnected by trenches with the centre.

The breaching battery for six 18-pounders (No. I.) was commenced upon, but by some mistake it was constructed about 120 yards in rear of the spot intended for it,* or about 700 yards distant from the body of the of the place. A foraging party, consisting of two regiments of cavalry and one of infantry, with the troop of horse artillery, was sent out to collect three days' supplies. This duty was afterwards generally taken by the two cavalry brigades alternately, but the horse artillery always went.

The battery opened on the 7th. It was built entirely of gabions; but from having been so hastily constructed, the embrasures were not directed as intended, and the breach was therefore commenced in the rampart to the left (*C*), instead of to the right of the opposite bastion. The enemy, meanwhile, were not idle. They threw up a trench in the wood (*D*) to the left, covering the Kumbhir gate, and occupied a dry tank (*G*) opposite the right of the attack, while they improved the ditch in front of the breach. The besiegers had no means ready for obviating these measures. Trenches were opened to connect the flank posts with the breaching battery, and four 8-inch and four 5½-inch mortars (No. IV.) were placed to the right of the latter during the night. They opened fire next morning, both upon the town and upon the

8th January

* This mistake is said to have been caused by a tree, which was to have served as a guide to the engineer officer in commencing work, having been cut down during the night. The enemy also placed lights along the edge of the ditch, which in the darkness might have appeared nearer than they really were.

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enemy's posts outside the ditch. It was observed that during the night an attempt had been made to stockade the breach which had been reported practicable, and this work the 18-pounders endeavoured to demolish. 1805 January

During the night a heavy fire of grape was kept up, but in the morning the breach was found to have been again repaired. The use of grape at this distance was perfectly futile. The commander-in-chief ordered the storming to take place at dusk, before the day's damage could be repaired. Lieutenant G. Percival was killed in the evening in the breaching battery,* which kept open its fire till the columns had passed on to the breach. The following troops were told off for the storming party:— 9th January

MAIN ATTACK—Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland, 75th Regiment, commanding.
Flank companies of the 22nd, 75th, 76th, and Bengal European Regiments.
1—8th and 2—12th N.I.
Four 6-pounders.

RIGHT ATTACK—Major Hawkes, commanding.
Two companies 75th Regiment.
1—2nd N.I.
Two 6-pounders.

LEFT ATTACK—Lieut.-Colonel C. Kyan, commanding.
100 men of the Bengal European Regiment.
2—22nd N.I.
Two 6-pounders.

* In a memoir of Sir George Pollock, published in a serial of 1870, it is related that Lieutenant Percival was strongly impressed with a presentiment of his approaching fate; and before going down to the trenches to take his tour of duty, he left Pollock a gun as a token of friendship. The latter, who was employed with the mortars, received, early in the day, a message from Percival to say he was wounded, but found, on going to the breaching battery, that he only had had his bearskin shako knocked off by a round shot. A little later in the afternoon another message came round to Pollock, who went and found his friend lying on the ground mortally wounded. He died during the night.—*Golden Hours* for 1870, p. 95.

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1805 January

Lieut.-Colonel Maitland was to assail the breaches, if possible, before the enemy could become aware of his approach, or repair the rampart.

The right column was to attack the enemy's position on that side near the Ánah gate (*E*, Plate XXIII.), and then to endeavour to force the gate itself; failing which, it was directed to turn to its left and move down to the support of the centre.

The left, in like manner, was to take possession of the trenches covering the Kumbhir gate, and, if possible, carry the gate itself. Both the flank columns were to cover the main attack.

It was not till dark, however, that the main body left camp. Before reaching the trenches, they came under the line of fire from the fort, which had for some reason or other begun a heavy cannonade, and they were obliged to incline to the right, which brought them to the Sandhill post. The four 6-pounders ordered to accompany them were in waiting on the left of the breaching battery. From the Sandhill post to the breach, the ground was broken and intersected with pools of water, which obliged portions of the columns to open out; and as they had thus to traverse in this manner three furlongs of unknown ground, it was no wonder that only detached portions of Colonel Maitland's column reached the edge of the ditch, the rest having "diverged outwards."* But the ditch was very wide and very deep. Close to the breach a kind of a tongue of land, the remains of a dam or causeway, stretched nearly across. The flankers of the 22nd, probably by this means, crossed and attained even to the top of the breach, where one of them had his boot pulled off in trying to climb over the stockade at its summit. Their leader, Lieutenant Manser,

* Thorn.

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left them under cover at the foot of the breach, and went to get support for his twenty-three men. Lieut.-Colonel Maitland was mortally wounded in trying to collect his men together. A few did cross, but everywhere else the water was too deep. Disunited effort must fail before opposition, and so it proved now. The loss of 4 officers and 96 men killed, 23 officers and 341 men * wounded, shows that, by them at least, success was not thrown away. 1805 January

Meanwhile, of the other two columns, that under Lieut.-Colonel Hawkes on the right spiked three of the guns, and drove the enemy out of the post they held; but, without attempting to force the gate, he proceeded to join the main attack. Lieut.-Colonel Kyan, keeping too much to his left, came upon the inundation. He forced the enemy to evacuate the trenches, but found his way to the Kumbhir gate barred by the depth of the water, and had to return.

The causes of failure are not difficult to discover. The deficiency of means should have induced the general, depending on the advice of his commanding engineer and artillery officers, to neglect no advantage which either science or opportunity might give him; whereas time, the only resource of which there was a good supply, was very sparingly expended, and the ordinary operations of a siege, which cannot be omitted without greatly risking success, were neglected: (1) The original positions taken up were not connected by a parallel, and (2) no attempt to advance to a nearer one from which a better breach could be effected and kept open was made; (3) the seven hundred yards which lay between the battery and the breach remained a *terra incognita* to the day of assault,

* These numbers are from the returns given in the "Military Repository.'

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1805 January

as a natural consequence; (4) the only flanking defence which could be brought to bear upon the breach, the long necks of the bastions, were untouched, and the three guns which each could bring to bear upon the storming columns were used with undiminished and fatal effect. Added to these difficulties, which might have been partially obviated, the inundated state of the country, and a wide ditch of irregular and unknown depth at the foot of a breach which the distance of the batteries enabled the garrison to repair every night, reduced the chances of success to a very small proportion.

All of these errors arose from the main one of making the breach the primary, instead of the final, object to be attained previous to storming.

The operations which terminated in the second assault of Bhurtpore were even of a more unsatisfactory nature than those which had gone before. For the first four days the batteries fired but seldom; whereas the enemy were during the whole of the 10th seen swarming over the breach, repairing it busily and undisturbed.* Materials were being collected for two new batteries. One (No. V.), between the Sandhill post and the mortar battery, was furnished with three brass 12-pounder field-pieces, to keep in check the fire from the bastion No. III. and the works connected therewith. It opened on the 15th. The other (No. VI.), begun on the night of the 14th, was for four 18-pounders and two French 24-pounders, brought over from Deeg, and was in line with

* The brother of the Rájá was killed the day after the first assault, while gratifying his desire of inspecting the bodies of the men who had fallen at the foot of the breach the night before. Captain Nelly was watching from the battery a large party at the summit of the breach, when a person, evidently of distinction, with a large umbrella held over him, was seen to descend it. Captain Nelly laid one of the guns on the party, saying, "We will show this fine, curious gentleman how well we can hit a mark." The shot was a good one.

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and on the right of the mortar battery.* It, as well as battery No. I., the embrasures of which were altered for the purpose, was laid for the curtain to the right of the bastion, where a new breach (*H*) was to be begun. They opened fire on the morning of the 16th with some effect. During the night two brass 12-pounders were sent to replace the 6-pounders at the Sandhill post. 1805 January

The batteries continued to fire grape at irregular but rather long intervals on the morning of the 17th. However, the breach was, as usual, found to have been stockaded. Next night, grape was changed for shell; but each of the two succeeding mornings, the 19th and the 20th, found the damage similarly repaired. The exact rate of expenditure of the ammunition is not known, but 250 shells were fired during the night of the 17th, and on the 18th from the mortars a little more than ten each hour; and each gun in the battery fired 116 rounds in the same time.

On the 18th Major-General Smith joined the army with three battalions of native infantry and one hundred European convalescents, in all about 1600 men. Six 6-pounder field-pieces (battalion guns) accompanied them. Ismail Beg, one of the independent chiefs in Holkar's army, also joined at this time with 500 of his followers.

The enemy had also received an important addition to his force in the person of Amir Khán, who came up from Bandelkhand with his cavalry, having received a retaining fee of six lákh of rupees from Bhurtpore for his services.

In order to cross the ditch, three broad ladders, covered with laths, had been prepared to serve as floating bridges; but the breadth of the ditch was not known.

* It was originally intended to have placed this battery 200 yards nearer, but in this position the view of the intended breach was obstructed.

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1805 January Several attempts had been made to examine the state both of it and the breach, but the enemy's sentries covered all the intervening ground each night, and were too vigilant. A reconnoissance in force was proposed, but set aside in favour of a havildar and three troopers of the 3rd Native Cavalry, who volunteered to ride down under pretence of being deserters, and pass along the ditch in front of the breach. The farce * was enacted; they were duly pursued and fired after, and brought back a report which would have been valuable had it been but true. The breadth of the ditch was given at 28 feet; it was not deep, and the breach was easy of ascent. An assault was therefore ordered for the next day.

During the night of the 20th, the 24-pounder guns were taken out of No. VI. battery, the whole of the shot of that calibre having been expended, and their places supplied by the 5½-inch brass field howitzers. A small battery (No. VII). was also erected to the left front of the trenches, to keep in check the enemy's fire from their posts near the gate; and a small battery (No. VIII.) of two 6-pounders was placed on the left of No. I.

The assault was formed in two columns as follows:—

Right, under Lieut.-Colonel Simpson: 1—14th and 2—9th N.I.

Left, under Lieut.-Colonel Macrae, of the 75th Regiment: Details of the four regiments of European infantry, amounting to 420 men; 2—15th and 2—22nd N.I.; a party of pioneers with scaling ladders, and a picked body of Europeans with the portable bridges. Four 6-pounder guns.

The bridges were 28 feet long, according to the report brought back by the troopers; they were only wide enough for two men to pass abreast.

* Much more was made of this exploit than it merited, though some pluck (unassisted by bhang) was shown. Five hundred rupees and immediate promotion was a sufficient reward.

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Both columns moved into the trenches at 4 a.m. on the morning of the 21st, and waited there anxiously watching the progress made by the guns in demolishing the defences of the breach. At 3 p.m., when it was thought to be sufficiently practicable, they went forward—Lieut.-Colonel Macrae direct upon the breach; Lieut.-Colonel Simpson, by a slightly circuitous route, upon the Ánah gate. The former halted at the dry tank (*G*), and while the guns opened from thence on the ramparts, he went forward with the engineers and pioneers, the scaling ladders and bridges, and a portion of the column. The ditch proved to be forty feet across and some eight feet deep. An attempt was made to lengthen the bridge by adding a scaling ladder to it, but it failed. Lieutenant Morris, with some of his men (Bengal Europeans), swam across and even mounted the breach, being twice wounded in the attempt; but the case was hopeless, and Lieut.-Colonel Macrae ordered a retreat. The guns, which had been pushed forward and were without cover, suffered some loss. An officer of the 15th N.I. records the following in his journal:— 1805 January

"The breach was a noble one, and had we been able to cross the ditch, there is no doubt but we should have succeeded."

Lieut.-Colonel Simpson had got to the Ánah gate but could not force it, and therefore united with the left column. He assisted in bringing off the guns, which were covering its retreat by an alternate fire. This second failure cost our small force 3 officers killed, 15 wounded, and in men, 284 Europeans and 285 natives killed, wounded, and missing, The loss of the artillery was:—Killed: 1 lascar, 2 bildars. Wounded: 1 sergeant, 1 corporal, 6 matrosses, 1 golandáz, 11 lascars, and 4 bildars.

In the order of the day, dated the 22nd, the com-

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1805 January

mander-in-chief, lamenting the loss of brave men on this occasion, expressed a hope that in a few days their labour would be crowned with success, and directed extra batta for the Europeans, and 200 rupees for each native corps of cavalry, infantry, gun lascars, and pioneers.

Here, again, one cannot fail to perceive that success was an impossibility. A breach was made which, *if it could only have been got at*, might have been assaulted with a reasonable prospect of success. But the only men who reached the breach had to swim the ditch; and even supposing the whole column could have followed them, the ammunition would have been drenched, and the party could hardly have held their ground and forced their way to the nearest gate, to admit reinforcements, by the bayonet alone.

The advanced posts taken on the first assault had been left for the enemy to reoccupy; and the defences which flanked the breach being absolutely untouched, the loss inflicted on the British position of the advancing columns was enormous.* It was disproportionate, even, to the enemy's means of defence; and the *morale* of the

* The proportion of casualties among non-commissioned officers and men of the left column and artillery will be seen from the following table:—

	Numerical strength N.-C. O. and men.	Killed, wounded, and missing.
Flankers 22nd Regiment	50	49
75th Regiment	120	111
76th Regiment	150	75
Bengal European Regiment	100	40
2—15th Regiment N.I.	300 (?)	73
2—22nd Regiment N.I.	300 (?)	82
Bengal Artillery	80 (?)	27
Pioneers	(?)	33
Total	...	490

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army, especially of the position upon which our chief dependence lay, could not but be seriously affected by the barbarous massacre, in sight even of the batteries, of the helpless wounded who were left behind. The donation of batta to the European and money to the native soldiers at such a time could only have added point to the feeling. 1805 January

During the time the assault was going on, the whole of the plain in rear of the besieging army was covered by the cavalry of Holkar, Amir Khán, and those in the pay of the Bhurtpore Rájá. The commander-in-chief, with all his cavalry and horse artillery, moved out to cover the camp. Some skirmishing took place, lasting till sunset, when the force was withdrawn into camp, covered by the horse artillery, who maintained a fire on the *prolonge* the whole way. From this time till the departure of Amir Khán for Rohilkhand, Lake's force was in a far stricter state of siege than the fortress he was attacking.

The army remained in its position without undertaking any other offensive siege works, except erecting two batteries, till the 6th of February, when the camp changed ground to a spot about a mile south-east of its first position, and facing the part of the fort between the Ánah and Nimdár gates. The 23rd of January was marked by an attempt of the enemy's cavalry outside upon a large convoy of grain, laden upon 12,000 bullocks, from Muttra and Deeg, under charge of Captain Welsh, 1st Bengal Cavalry, within a few miles from camp. The cavalry and horse artillery went out* to support Welsh, February

* Had they been sent out when the firing, which was distinctly heard in camp, first commenced, the whole convoy might have been brought in. As it was, the escort was, by the delay, placed in imminent danger; and Captain Welsh might have been excused for the triteness of the phrase when he exclaimed, on seeing Captain Need at the head of the dragoons, "That a friend in *Need* was a friend indeed."

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1805 February who was hard pressed in a village where he had taken refuge, and the enemy were dispersed with much slaughter. Only 1800 of the grain bullocks, however, reached camp. Another and much more valuable convoy was upon its way from Agra under Colonel Patrick Don. It consisted of 50,000 grain bullocks, 800 carts of ammunition, 8000 18-pounder shot, and 600,000 rupees. Such a prize was worth plunder. But the commander-in-chief reinforced Colonel Don before he could be attacked; and the next day the whole moved off, cattle and carts in the centre, forming a solid rectangular mass, protected on every side. The cavalry, with the horse artillery and galloper guns on the flanks and rear, kept up a constant skirmish. Rockets were fired into the column to produce confusion; but nothing fell into the hands of the enemy, who finally drew off after suffering severe loss.

This was not what the Rájá of Bhurtpore had engaged the services of Amir Khán for at so high a price, and he taunted the latter with his failure. That chief, foiled in the only game he knew well, was discontented on his part. Therefore, knowing that Lake was not likely to abandon the siege for him, and could not well spare a force to follow him, he determined upon an expedition more to the tastes of himself and his Pindári followers. On the 7th of February he crossed the Jumna and directed his course into Rohilkhand, from whence he hoped to carry away a goodly store of plunder.* But he did not appreciate fully either the determination or the promptitude of Lake. On the morning of the 8th, Major-General Smith, with a detachment consisting of the horse

* Amir Khán was born at the village of Sambhal, in Rohilkhand, where his mother was then living in great poverty; and it is said that a desire of seeing her led him to choose this line of country. Be that as it may, he would not have spared the place merely because it had sheltered his infancy or her old age.

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artillery, the 8th, 27th, and 29th Dragoons, and the 1st, 3rd, and 6th Bengal Cavalry, in all about 1800 effective men, marched from camp to follow him up. Their route will be seen on the map. Amir Khán's object was entirely defeated. Beyond levying some small contributions, and plundering some of the more defenceless villages, he got nothing. Major-General Smith was too close upon his heels to give him time to practise the usual methods of extortion on those places which were capable of making any resistance. He was at last brought to bay at Afzalgarh on the 2nd of March, and his force dispersed with much loss. But in this action occurred one of those unfortunate mistakes which have happened more than once, caused by the improper handling of cavalry, and resulting in the defeat of a good regiment; and on this occasion nearly involving the artillery, taken at a disadvantage, in serious disaster. A body of four or five hundred Rohillas came down upon the English line, where Captain Brown's troop of horse artillery was stationed; and the general committed the error of ordering the 29th Dragoons, who were in rear of the troop, in the second line, to the front to charge. But the regiment, after passing through the intervals of the guns, had hardly time to reform their line before the hostile cavalry were upon them. Broken by the shock, they were driven back again through the line; and the horse artillery, unable to fire into the mingled mass of friend and foe, would soon have been involved in a calamity from which they could not escape by flight. But on one flank of the line stood a squadron of the 8th Royal Irish Dragoons, commanded by Captain George Russell Deare,* who seeing his opportunity, with the

1805 February

See PLATE XX.

March

* This officer must have been a near kinsman of Lieut.-Colone Charles Russell Deare, of the Bengal Artillery, killed at Sátiya Mangalam, September 13th, 1790.

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1805 March

instantaneous decision of a good cavalry leader, promptly wheeled his men, and charging down the front, cleared it of every living danger.

On the 11th of March Amir Khán was again surprised at Chándpur, near Amroha, by Captain Murray. These reverses and the closeness of the pursuit caused numbers of his followers to desert his standard; and he retraced his way to Bhurtpore, whence he shortly afterwards went back to Bandelkhand. On the 23rd Major-General Smith rejoined the camp at Bhurtpore, after traversing, in a month and a half, 700 miles of country.

January

Previous to the change of position of the army before Bhurtpore, it was proposed to attack the Ánah gate; but as it was found to be completely screened, the idea was abandoned. On the 29th of January, Lieut.-Colonel Horsford obtained the following intelligence respecting the state of the ditch:—"From the Kumbhir to the Ánah and Bánsi gates, deep water; thence to the Nimdár very little, in places only 1½ foot; beyond that, dry."

On the 30th, Captain Alexander Hind, 6th Company, 1st Battalion; Captain Gervaise Pennington, acting commissary of ordnance at Agra; and Lieutenant Warren H. L. Frith arrived in camp.

February

The change in the position of the army was beneficial to the health of the troops. On the night of the 4th the new ground was taken up, and a parallel commenced, its right about 600, and its left 400 yards from the ramparts. The army moved into its new ground on the morning of the 6th, leaving picquets at Ánah, and an advanced post between that village and the town. It was determined to breach between bastions Nos. 3 and 4, the defences of the Nimdár gate being still unknown. To the right front of the parallel, and 300 yards from its extremity, was a rising ground, afterwards called "Grant's post," where

See PLATE XXIV.

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the enemy planted some guns advantageously; a village with a tank in front lay a little nearer. Both were occupied, and the raised edge of the latter gave additional cover. These posts should not have been left to the enemy. It became necessary to keep them in check, and a battery for two 12-pounders and two 4⅘-inch howitzers (No. IX.) was erected on the right extremity of the parallel. It was armed on the night of the 7th, while a new breaching battery (No. X.) for four 18-pounder and two 24-pounder guns was being prepared. This was armed on the night of the 9th. At the same time, a battery for four 5½-inch mortars (No. XI.) was placed behind a mound 150 yards to the left rear of No. X., near a dry tank, which was distant 400 yards from the Sandhill post (No. II.). Nos. X. and XI. opened fire on the morning of the 10th; and by noon next day, the tops of the intervening trees being cut away, a good view of the rampart was obtained. 1805 February

An important reinforcement joined on the 11th. Major-General Richard Jones,* who had been sent to replace Colonel Murray in command of the column on service in Guzarát, had been ordered up to Bhurtpore. His force consisted of—

ARTILLERY.

5th Company, 3rd Battalion (Bengal), commanded by Captain Andrew Dunn.† A-8 R.A.

A company of Bombay Artillery.

Ordnance.

Two 12-pounder guns. Twelve 6-pounder guns.

Two field howitzers.

---

* A Bombay Artillery officer. Entered the service 18th February, 1771; promoted to lieutenant-general 25th April, 1808; nominated a Knight Commander of the Bath 3rd February, 1817, for distinguished service. He died at Worthing, in Sussex, 13th February, 1835.

† There were no other officers with this battery then.

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1805 February

CAVALRY.	
One troop Bombay cavalry.	500 irregular horse.

INFANTRY.	
Eight companies 65th Regiment.	2nd—2nd Bombay N.I.
86th Regiment.	1st—3rd ,,
2nd—1st Bombay N.I.	1st—9th ,,

in all about 700 Europeans and 2400 native cavalry and infantry.

On the night of the 11th, a trench was commenced, leading from the left of the parallel towards bastion No. 3, to enable the storming party to approach under cover. The breach had been reported practicable in the afternoon. We find here again repeated the mistake of making the breach before the other arrangements for the storm had been even begun; consequently, on the morning of the 12th, it was found that the garrison had raised a mud wall in rear of it, to give more effectual support to a stockade. Much ammunition had therefore to be expended on this work, and during the night the trench of approach was carried on and deepened, but on the morning of the 13th the breach was found to have been completely stockaded.

The enemy continued to keep up on each day a hot fire.* The guns behind the tank (*K*) were well placed to enfilade the breaching batteries only, checked occasionally by the fire of our field-pieces. The enemy's fire from the town was affected but little by our guns; their ordnance, placed in the areas and necks of the bastions, were well covered.

* The author of "Military Autobiography" says that the scarlet uniforms and plumed hats of the chief's staff were sure to draw down the enemy's fire whenever they came into the trenches, until a plain-spoken captain of artillery told Colonel Lake that his feather endangered the life of every man in the battery, and begged him to lay it aside when he came down there—a request that was complied with by all the staff afterwards.—*East Indian United Service Journal*, iii. 156.

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On the night of the 13th, three 8-inch mortars were placed in battery to the left (No. XII.) of No. X., and one 10-inch mortar (No. XIII.) to its right. They opened next day on the curtain on either side of the breach (*L*), but their attention should have been exclusively directed to the bastions. Next night, the new trench having been pushed to within 150 yards of bastion No. 3, a sand-bag battery (No. XIV.) was constructed for two 12-pounders, directed upon bastion No. 4. It opened fire on the morning of the 16th. From thence the trench itself was pushed on towards the breach, with a depth of from 10 to 12 feet, to secure a sufficient defilade from bastions Nos. 4 and 5. But it was exposed to enfilade from No. 3. On its left, another sand-bag battery for two 6-pounders (No. XV.) was commenced at 70 yards from No. 3, beyond which spot the trenches were advanced 20 yards. A gallery had also been commenced for a mine from it. But there was no *banquette* to the high parapet, and no places of arms constructed; so that early on the morning of the 19th the enemy made a sortie, accompanied by *coolies and women*, and destroyed the unfinished battery, emptying and carrying off the sand-bags. During all this time the batteries in the rear were endeavouring to keep the breach clear. The same disregard of rule in the construction of the trenches had yet more fatal results on the morning of the 20th, when the general had ordered the third assault to take place. Early on that morning a general sortie was made from the town, and the whole of the trenches were attacked. The European portion of the left column had just reached No. XI. battery. Those who advanced to oppose the attack could not use their muskets with effect, or close with the enemy, who were running along the top of the high parapet. The flankers of the 22nd Regiment at last succeeded in

1805 February

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1805 February stopping and repulsing them, but not until several men were killed or wounded.

The column for the assault had been told off as follows:—

RIGHT COLUMN—Lieut.-Colonel Taylor.
65th Regiment ... ... 300 men.
1st Grenadier Battalion Bombay N.I.
1st—3rd Battalion. ,,

CENTRE COLUMN—Captain Grant, 86th Regiment.
86th Regiment ... ... 200 men.
1st—8th Bengal N.I.

LEFT COLUMN—Lieut.-Colonel Patrick Don.
22nd Regiment.
75th ,,
76th ,,
Bengal European Regiment.
1st—12th Bengal N.I.
2nd—12th ,,
1st—15th ,,

The right column, ordered to move round to the right as far as the Bhim Naráyan gate, which was reported easy of access, was led by their guide under the fire of the town, lost their scaling ladders, and had a 12-pounder gun dismounted; so they returned to camp.

The centre column, moving out as had been ordered, at 3 p.m. left the parallel at battery No. IX., advanced and carried the high and entrenched ground (*K*) beyond the tank, capturing eleven guns * and pursuing the enemy up to the Atil gate, which was only closed as the head of the column reached it. Bhurtpore had nearly fallen then. The position carried by this column was thenceforward known as "Grant's post."

The European portion of the left or principal column had been ordered into the trenches at daylight. They

* Five out of the eleven guns were taken by a party of artillerymen, whom Captain Pennington, then commanding in the batteries, had detached.—"Military Repository," vol. iii. p. 121.

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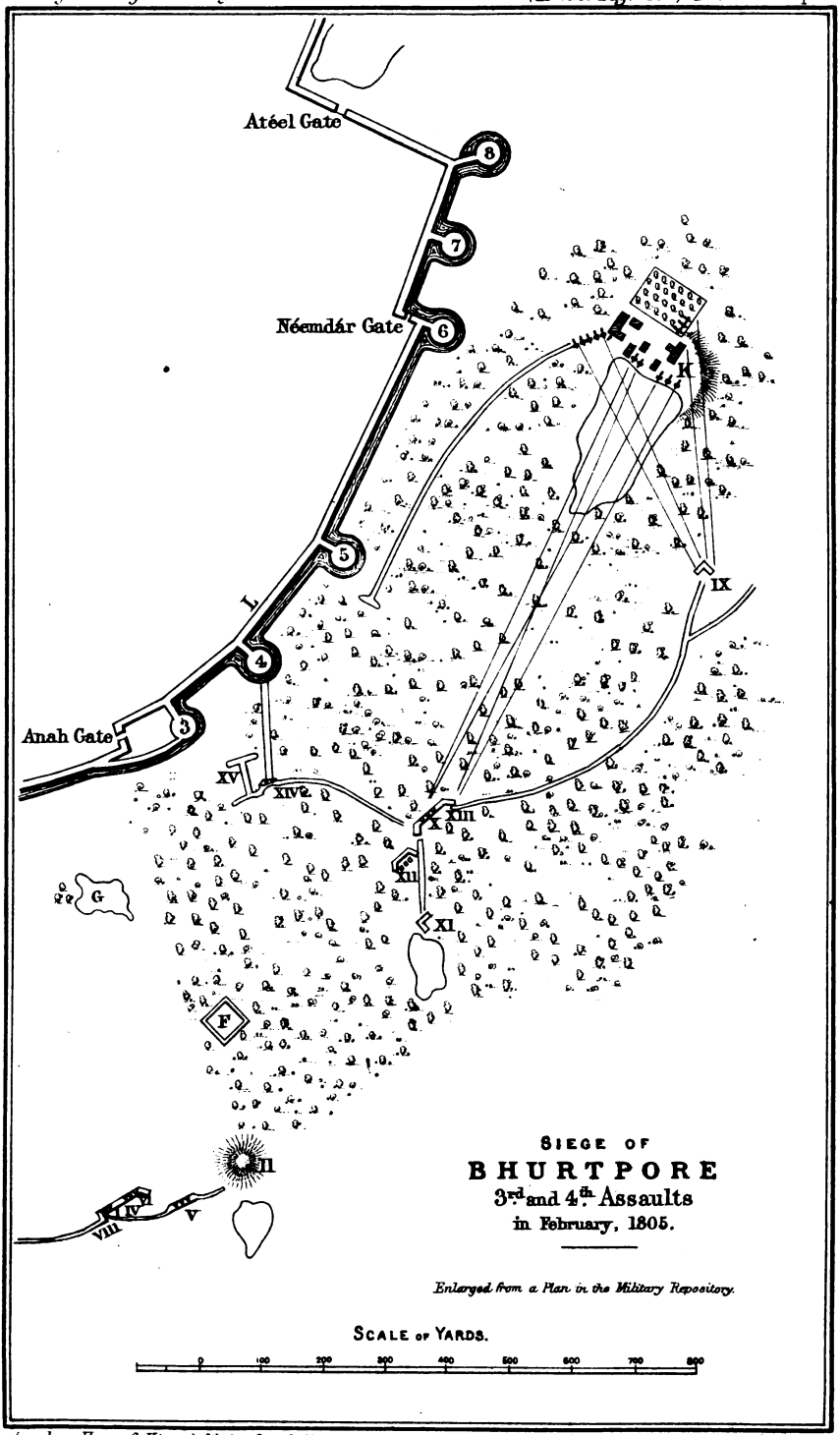

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were to have remained under shelter in and about the dry tank near No. XI. till the hour named for the assault, when they were to occupy the left approach, and sally forth from the little parallel near No. XV., to assault the breach. As before stated, they repulsed with difficulty the sortie of that morning, and did so only partially; for the end of the left approach, and the unfinished mine gallery there, remained in the enemy's hands for the greater part of the day. Even the wounded were left unsuccoured in the trench, exposed to the sun and hostile fire. 1805 February

At 4 p.m., while Captain Grant's party was already successfully engaging the foe, they were ordered out, preceded by fifty men carrying fascines, which were to be thrown into the ditch. Under cover of some men told off as skirmishers the breach was to be stormed. But previous ill success had borne its fruit in the minds of the soldiers, and added to the other difficulties under which they were called upon to act. The trench, as has been noticed before, was exposed to enfilade fire from the town; its bottom, a narrow path, was still encumbered with dead and with the wounded, whose dismal groans only reminded their comrades of what soldiers in the moment of action must forget. Disheartened, they gave ready ear to a report that the enemy, still holding a part of the ground, had prepared a mine for their benefit, and refused to advance. There is too often to be found, in times when danger hangs about, some "thing of evil" ready, when an unlooked-for occurrence takes place, to raise the cry of "treachery"—a character which should be sent home to learn from women the first elements of courage. Some of the 22nd Regiment, a corps which distinguished itself throughout the siege, did go forward; but were unsupported, and had to retire. Colonel Don

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1805 February then took the native infantry to the front, supported by two guns under Lieutenant G. Swiney. They moved down upon bastion No. 4, where there was less water. Fourteen of the men, assisted by some of the Europeans who had followed up, clambered up the breach, and the colours of the 12th N.I. were actually planted on the summit. But even this sight failed to bring more support; the rest of the column, European and native, hung back, losing more men than a gallant and successful rush would have sacrificed; and when the order for a retreat was given, the whole ran for it.

Captain J. Nelly, commanding in one of the batteries, received this day a bad wound in the eye, which deprived him of its sight, and subsequently compelled him to leave the service. Lieutenant G. Swiney was also wounded. The total loss in this attempt was 23 officers, 185 Europeans, and 668 natives killed, wounded, and missing. The casualties among the artillery are given in the Appendix (Note E).

Next morning the commander-in-chief addressed, on parade, the regiments which had been so backward the day before. Touched with a sense of shame, as well they might have been, they volunteered to a man; Lieutenant C. Templeton, of the 76th, offering to lead the forlorn hope. So the fourth assault was ordered at 4 p.m. The Hon. Colonel Monson was placed in command of the party, consisting of the flank companies of the 22nd, the whole of the 65th, 76th, and 86th Regiments, with the 1—2nd and 1—15th N.I., and the Bombay grenadier battalions. As they passed the general, they cheered him, and moved steadily on to bastion No. 4, which they endeavoured to climb up. But it was, as had been reported, very steep. Some of the men, driving their bayonets into the rampart, endeavoured to gain a footing

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step by step; some clambered up by the shot-holes, wherever they could. Logs of wood, powder-pots, solid shot, and any missiles that came to hand, were showered upon them from above, while a destructive fire was poured upon them from every portion of the ramparts that commanded them. The gallant Templeton was killed as he had planted the colours of his regiment on the top. Ensign J. H. Jones,* of the engineers, got two short ladders planted, but they were not sufficient for any united attempt. Except Major Menzies, the commander-in-chief's aide-de-camp, who was killed, no one else seems to have tried the breach. For two hours this unequal contest was maintained, till Colonel Monson was obliged to give the orders for a retreat. Of the artillery, Lieutenant Rayner Gowing was killed in one of the advanced batteries, and Captain Gervaise Pennington was wounded. 1805 February

So failed the last assault on Bhurtpore. The same fault which showed itself in Lake's first question to the senior engineer at the commencement of the siege†—precipitation—ran through the whole of the proceedings, and was a main cause of the disasters that followed one another. As the author of the "Journals of Sieges in Bengal," to whom the compiler of this history is largely indebted in these remarks, well observes, the breach

* Afterwards killed at the siege of Kamonah.

† On the 3rd of January Lieut.-Colonel Horsford, while going down with the senior engineer to reconnoitre the place for the first time, was overtaken by General Lake, who asked the latter, "Will the battery be ready to-night?" Not an arrangement had been made, not a fascine was ready; so he answered, "How is it possible?" The general's reply was, "Then it shall be ready to-morrow night, and you must work harder, and get more men" ("Military Repository," iii. 6). The character of Colonel Horsford, from whose journal Major C. H. Campbell obtained most of his material in compiling the account of the siege, and of Major Campbell himself, is a sufficient guarantee as to the correctness of the facts stated therein.

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1805 February seemed throughout to have been the primary, instead of the final, object in the measures undertaken. Hence, for ten days before the third assault, it had been reported practicable, and it would have been strange if the garrison had not been prepared to receive the storming columns. For this precipitation the general must be held primarily responsible. He may not himself have been anything of an engineer, but this should have induced him to submit his judgment to those who were capable of advising him. It is said that the office of chief engineer changed hands more than once during the siege, and this appears to have been true. The senior officer of this branch was only a lieutenant.* But the character and abilities of Lieut.-Colonel Horsford might have commanded attention, yet his advice does not appear to have ever been asked as to the conduct of the siege.

The construction of the trenches was most faulty; their direction required so high a profile that they formed in places a narrow path at the bottom of a ditch ten to twelve feet deep—a bad communication. Without a *banquette*, the working parties and guards were liable to be attacked, and shot or speared from above, without being able to make effectual resistance. There were no places of arms; and no clearer proof can be given of the undefended state of the advanced works than the fact that coolies and women came down on the morning of the 20th, and helped to entirely dismantle a battery.

The inadequacy of the ordnance for a siege has been before remarked on. Towards the end of active operations, the vents of the guns had become so much enlarged, and the metal so much fissured around them, that they

* The engineer officers were Lieutenants Thomas Robertson, William Cowper (Bombay, joined with General Jones), Thomas Wood, Henry W. Carmichael Smyth, and Richard Tickell.

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had to be served with bags of sand. Not one of the guns was made serviceable before the end of the siege. 1805 February

The work that devolved upon the artillery was very severe. Day after day, and night after night, they, as well as the pioneers, were upon duty ; yet when the Bombay force joined, and it was in contemplation to relieve the Bengal Artillery, they entreated to be allowed to serve their guns without any assistance. A like good feeling pervaded the whole force.

It was evident now that the siege could not be prosecuted with the existing means. But Lake had no intention of giving it up. Therefore, on the night of the 22nd, the ordnance was withdrawn from the batteries; and on the 24th, the army changed ground again to a spot six and a half miles north-east of the town, covering the roads to Agra, Muttra, and Deeg. Here they remained till the 9th of April, chiefly employed in making up fascines and other siege materials.

Major-General Smith returned from his pursuit of Amir Khán on the 23rd of March ;* and on the 29th the commander-in-chief, now Lord Lake, attacked Holkar's camp, about six miles off. He with the cavalry moved round to the left, while Colonel Don with the infantry attacked their right more directly ; but the noise of the guns, and the information they obtained, enabled them to escape with but little loss. The attempt was renewed on the 2nd of April, with better success. Holkar lost 400 men, and his force was dispersed; so that, finding his game so much a losing one, he retired across the Chambal and joined Sindiah. March April

Ranjit Singh, of Bhurtpore, had been for some time past in treaty with the English general. Much of his treasure had gone to fee Holkar and Amir Khán, neither

* See Note G in the Appendix.

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1805 April

of whom had rendered him efficient assistance, and Lord Lake's active preparations for a renewal of the siege were ominous in his eyes. His villages had been burned, his crops cut down, and his revenue materially injured; so upon the 11th, Prithvi Singh, one of his sons, came into camp as a hostage, bearing with him the keys of the fort. But it was long before the British name recovered the reputation it had lost before Bhurtpore.

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6. Memoirs of Sir George Pollock. *Golden Hours* for 1870.
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8. Memoirs of Lieutenant-Colonel Skinner. By J. B. Fraser, 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1851.
9. Muster-Rolls.

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APPENDIX.

NOTE A.—Route of the commander-in-chief from Sikandra, following up Holkar, till the commencement of the siege of Deeg.

NOTE B.—Casualties among the artillery in the battle of Deeg.

NOTE C.—Names of artillery officers who were present at the battle of Deeg.

NOTE D.—Names of artillery officers who served at the first siege of Bhurtpore.

NOTE E.—Casualties among the artillery during the first siege of Bhurtpore.

NOTE F.—Regarding the companies at Bhurtpore.

NOTE A.

Route of the commander-in-chief from Sikandra, following up Holkar, till the commencement of the siege of Deeg.

Dates.	Names of Places.	Distance.	
1804.	From	Miles Fur.	
Oct. 1	Sikandra to Chandghar ...	9 4	
2	Jhandipur ...	9 1	
3	Near Muttra ...	10 4	Halted eight days.
12	Jait	11 6	
13	Chátah ...	12 4	
14	Hodal	15 1	
15	Báhminikhera...	12 0	
16	Sikri	16 4	
17	Faridábád ...	10 6	
18	Delhi	14 2	Relieved the city, which had been besieged by Holkar. Halted twelve days.
31	Loni	9 3	Gen. Lake, with the cavalry and reserve, marched in pursuit of Holkar.
Nov. 1	Bághpat ...	15 0	
2	Kándhlah ...	28 0	
3	Shámli... ...	12 0	Relieved two battalions blockaded in the fort. Halted one day.
5	Muhammadábád nullah ...	13 6	
6	Hindan nullah	12 7	
7	Khatáoli ...	15 1	
8	Meerut ...	19 3	
9	Hápur	19 0	

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NOTE A (*continued*).

Dates.	Names of Places.	Distance.	
1804.	From	Miles Fur.	
Oct. 10	Málághar ...	18 5	
11	Shikárpur ...	19 2	
12	Piláona ...	18 7	
13	Kauriaganj ...	19 3	
14	Khásganj ...	20 4	
15	Shirpur	20 6	
16	Aliganj	23 3	
17	Fatehgarh ...	30 7	Gen. Lake, with the cavalry, marched at 9 p.m. of the 16th from Aliganj, and came up with and defeated Holkar at daybreak, being a distance of 54 miles in 30 hours, or 252 miles in 13 successive days. Halted two days.
20	Tiriah (Delia)	6 5	
21	Bewar	16 7	
22	Mainpuri ...	17 4	
23	Isárah (Essah)	16 3	
24	Etah	19 3	
25	Purah	17 0	
26	Medhu (Mindoo)	20 7	
27	Joár	12 7	
28	Satuah ...	19 4	Crossed the Jumna at Muttra. Joined Col. Monson. Halted three days.
Dec. 1	Áring	6 3	Halted one day.
3	Kiraswámi ...	9 1	Halted seven days.
11	Kasba Áo ...	5 0	
12	Deeg	8 0	

The above is extracted from Henley's "Abstract of Orders," and was compiled from documents in the office of the quarter-master general, Bengal. The original spelling, where it differs very much from that in the text, is given within parentheses.

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Note B.

Return of casualties among the Artillery in the battle of Deeg, 13th November, 1804, extracted from Colonel W. Monson's despatch, dated 14th November, 1804.

	EUROPEANS.					NATIVES.										
	Sergeants.	Gunners.	Drummers.	Matrosses.	Total.	Havildars.	Privates.	Serangs.	Tindals.	Lascars.	Bheesties.	Bildars.	Bullock-drivers.	Total.	Staff Officer's horse.	Bullocks.
Killed	...	...	1	3	4	...	1	...	...	4	1	4	6	16	1	42
Wounded ...	1	1	1	3	6	1	2	1	1	14	1	1	25	46	...	15
Missing	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	2
Total ...	1	1	2	6	10	1	3	1	1	19	2	5	31	62	1	59

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Note C.

Names of Artillery officers who served at the siege of Deeg:—

Major (Brevet-Lieut.-Colonel)	John Horsford	
Captain	John Nelly	3rd Company, 1st Battalion
„	John F. Paschaud ...	1st Company, 1st Battallion (doing duty from 7th Company, 1st Battalion)
„	George Raban	2nd Company, 1st Battalion
Capt.-Lieutenant	Edward W. Butler ...	4th Company, 2nd Battalion *
„	Clement Brown ...	Horse Artillery
Lieutenant ...	Marmaduke W. Browne	Adjt. and Quarter-Master
„	Leslie R. Grove ...	1st Company, 1st Battalion (doing duty from 6th Company, 1st Battalion)
„	Henry Stark	Horse Artillery
„	Samuel S. Hay	3rd Company, 2nd Battalion
„	James Young	Horse Artillery
„	George Swiney	1st Company, 1st Battalion (doing duty from 7th Company, 2nd Battalion)
„	Rayner Gowing... ...	2nd Company, 1st Battalion (doing duty from 4th Company, 1st Battalion)
„	Richard Tickell †	
„	George Percival ...	3rd Company, 2nd Battalion (doing duty from another Company)
„	George Pollock	3rd Company, 1st Battalion (doing duty from another Company)
„	John D. Smith	4th Company, 2nd Battalion

* The 4th Company, 2nd Battalion, appears to have been at Agra, and Captain Butler probably commanded the 3rd Company. But this is only conjecture.

† Transferred to the engineers. G. O., 14th September (Muster Roll).

N.B.—The accuracy of the above list, of which the names were furnished by Sir G. Pollock, has been tested by comparison with the muster rolls, and with Sir John Horsford's list, given at page 284 of Captain Buckle's Memoir.

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Note D.

Names of officers of the Bengal Artillery who served at the first siege of Bhurtpore:—

Lieut.-Colonel ...	John Horsford	
Major	Alexander Hind	
Captain ...	John Nelly	3rd Company, 1st Battalion
„	George Raban	2nd Company, 1st Battalion
„	Andrew Dunn	5th Company, 3rd Battalion
„	Edward W. Butler ...	4th Company, 2nd Battalion
„	Gervaise Pennington	
„	Clement Brown ...	Horse Artillery
Capt.-Lieutenant	Marmaduke W. Browne	Adjt. and Quarter-Master.
Lieutenant ...	Henry Stark	Horse Artillery
„	Samuel S. Hay	3rd Company, 2nd Battalion
„	James Young	Horse Artillery
„	George Swiney	1st Company, 1st Battalion
„	Rayner Gowing ...	2nd Company, 1st Battalion
„	George Percival ...	3rd Company, 2nd Battalion
„	George Pollock	3rd Company, 1st Battalion
„	John D. Smith	4th Company, 2nd Battalion
„	Warren H. L. Frith	

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Note E.

Casualties in the Bengal Artillery during the first siege of Bhurtpore.

	Killed.							Wounded.									
	Lieutenants.	Sergeants.	Rank and file.	Golandáz rank and file.	Bheestees.	Lascars.	Bildars.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Gunners.	Golandáz rank and file.	Bheestees.	Tindals.	Lascars.	Bildars.
To the first assault, Jan. 9th	1	...	1	...	...	...	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	5
To the second assault, Jan. 21st	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	1	1	6	1	...	...	11	4
To the third assault, Feb. 20th	...	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	...	...	7	14	3	1	9	4
To the fourth assault, Feb. 21st	1	...	1	1	...	1	...	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	6
Total	2	1	3	2	1	4	16	2	1	2	1	14	15	3	1	22	19

Officers killed :—Lieutenant G. Percival, 9th January; Lieutenant Rayner Gowing, 21st Feb.

Wounded :—Captain J. Nelly, 20th Feb.; Lieutenant G. Swiney, 20th Feb.; Conductor Whale, 20th Feb.; Captain G. Pennington, 21st Feb.

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Note G.

Route of Major-General Smith in pursuit of Amir Khán, from Bhurtpore through Rohilkhand, in 1805.

Date.	Names of Places.	Remarks.
Feb. 8	Left camp at Bhurtpore	
9	Crossed Jumna	
10	To Joár, 11 miles; direction changed. Halted 7 miles N.E. of Joár	
11	Aligarh	Detachment of N.I. and Skinner's horse, under Colonel Grueber, joined.
12	Near Kamonah	
13	Pánaghar	Baggage was attacked in passing a small fort belonging to Dhundiyá Khán. Gate blown open, and place taken.
14	Putghát on the Ganges...	Colonel Grueber, with the infantry and 400 of Skinner's horse, sent to Anupshahr.
15	Kumándáni Ghát ...	Crossed the Ganges this and next day.
17	Amroha	
18	Morádábád	Halted one day.
20	Rámpur	
21	Chaprah	
22	Shergarh...	Halted two days.
25	Milik near Rámpur on the Kosi river... ...	Halted one day.
27	Morádábád	
28	Kán or Shergarhi	
March 1	Badáli	
2	Afzalgarh	Left baggage at Sherkot. Came up with and defeated Amir Khán. Returned to Sherkot after the action.
3	Sherkot	Halted.
4	Shergarh	
5	Morádábád	
6	Ganáhan river on the road to Amroha	
7	Chandausi	
8	Rámganga river... ...	Covering Bareilly.
9	On road to Chandausi ...	20 miles W.N.W. from last ground.
10	Three kos from Sambhal	By Chandausi. Halted one day.
12	Amroha	Halted one day.
14	Kumándáni Ghát ...	Crossed Ganges this and next day.
16	Bahádurganj	
17	Jahángirábád	
18	Kamonah	
19	Koel	
20	Beyond Joár	
21	Muttra	
22	Name not given... ...	Encountered some of the enemy's horse.
23	Bhurtpore	

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CHAPTER IX.

MINOR SIEGES IN THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES AND BANDELKHAND, 1807—KAMONAH—Description of—Batteries—Mining—Countermining — Assault fails — Enemy evacuate — Observations—GANAORI attacked—Enemy evacuates—Vertical fire—1806-1809—Changes of artillery officers in Bandelkhand—Capture of GOHAD—Of CHUMIR, HIRAPUR, and RAJAOLI heights—AJIGARH invested—Spur of the hill taken—Batteries—Howitzers used as mortars—Bombardment—Surrender—Merits of Captain J. H. Brooke acknowledged—1809—Capture of BHAWANI—Captain G. Mason thanked in orders—1812—Gopál Singh—Description of KÁLINJAR—Batteries established—Assault fails—Reinforcements sent for—Dariáo Singh surrenders—Mention of the artillery in general orders—1813—Lieut.-Colonel Adams commands in Bandelkhand—2nd Troop H.A. sent there in 1812—Fort of ENTAORI attacked—Desperate resistance—Mention of the troop in orders—CAPTURE OF FRENCH INSULAR POSSESSIONS EAST OF THE CAPE—1809-1810—Island of RODRIGUEZ taken—Of BOURBON—Expedition against the MAURITIUS—10,000 men landed in three hours—Island surrenders—Medals—1810—Capture of Amboyna and Banda—1811-1816—Expedition against JAVA—Constitution of artillery force—Order of brigading—Landing effected—BATAVIA taken—Action of WELTERVREEDEN—Lines of CORNELIS—Detail of batteries—Storming of the lines—General Janssens followed up—Action at JATTOO—Surrender—Honours conferred—Observations—Expedition to PALIMBANG—Night attack—Sultan of Mataram rebels—Changes in the artillery—Attack on JOJOKARTA—Gallant conduct of a matross—Praise of Major E. W. Butler—Hostilities concluded—Return of a portion of the artillery—Java light cavalry and horse artillery.

MINOR SIEGES IN THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES AND BANDELKHAND.—SIEGE OF KAMONAH.—1807.

THE siege of an insignificant fort, mounting six guns, which occupied a British force numbering more than

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6000 men for thirty-nine days, must be of interest. Dhundiyá Khán, a zemindar holding a small estate a few miles north of Aligarh, had given us some trouble while Lake was before Bhurtpore; and Colonel Grueber was laying siege to his principal fort of Kamonah, when the irruption of Amir Khán into the Doáb and Rohilkhand took place. The submission of the Bhurtpore Rájá left him no choice, and he kept quiet for a year. Causes of complaint, however, began to arise about the end of 1806; and after the magistrate of Aligarh had failed to bring him to reason, Major-General R. M. Dickens, H.M.'s service, commanding the troops "in the field,"* was directed to compel submission. A force was collected from Cawnpore, Muttra, Agra, and Bareilly, and brigaded as follows:— 1807

ARTILLERY.

3rd Company, 1st Battalion	Captain R. Hetzler.	1-22 R.A. Reduced in 1825.
2nd Company, 2nd Battalion	Captain Alex. Macleod.	

1ST BRIGADE.

Lieutenant-Colonel W. Duff,† 1—9th N.I., commanding.

1—9th N.I. 1—27th N.I. 2—27th N.I.

2ND BRIGADE.

Lieutenant-Colonel Burnett, 1—23rd N.I., commanding.

1—13th N.I. 1—23rd N.I.

RESERVE.

Lieutenant-Colonel J. Horsford, Bengal Artillery, commanding.‡

Two half squadrons 24th Dragoons. Five troops 6th Native Cavalry.

Four troops, 3rd Native Cavalry. Two companies 17th Regiment.

Flank companies of native infantry formed into a battalion.

Engineers: Lieutenant J. H. Jones, Ensign A. D. Fordyce.

Corps of Pioneers: Lieutenants John Swinton, T. K. Ramsay, and Anderson.

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* The troops stationed above Allahabad constituted "the field command." It was abolished by G. G. O. No. 190 of 1823.

† Brother to Major-General Patrick Duff, Bengal Artillery.

‡ Colonel Horsford also directed the engineering and artillery operations.

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1807 The battering train from Agra consisted of—

Ordnance.		Ammunition.
4 iron 18-pounders (afterwards increased to 6)	...	500 shot per piece.
2 brass 12-pounders	...	500 ,, ,,
2 brass 8-inch howitzers	...	100 shell ,,
2 brass 5½-inch mortars	...	100 ,, ,,
1 spare 18-pounder carriage.		

October It crossed the Jumna on the 1st, and reached Koil on the 6th October; at which place the force was brigaded on the 9th. On the 12th it marched and took up a position south of the fort, with its left near the village of Sahár.

See PLATES XXV. and XXVI. The fort of Kamonah consisted of an inner parallelogram, 150 feet by 250, with four circular bastions at the angles. On the south and west faces were two large, round, solid, detached bastions; and on the eastern, or gateway face, were two more—the whole surrounded by a *raoni*, or *fausse-braie*, 24 to 36 feet in width, defended by a parapet, and a ditch varying in breadth from 41 to 54 feet, and about 21 feet in depth. A regular glacis covered the escarp from direct fire. Thus, while the place, though small, was not one to be safely attempted by a *coup de main*, or easily breached, it could not have long stood out against a good vertical fire; but with the means for this the force was almost unprovided.

About 360 yards eastward of the fort was a garden, 600 to 800 yards in extent, which had been occupied in 1805 by Colonel Grueber, but was now fortified and held in force by the enemy. The intention, however, was to attack from the south-west; and possession was taken, the first evening, of the village of Kamonah by Captain Casement, with a party of N.I. and two guns. The 13th to 15th October were taken up in providing material for and making up fascines. A battery of two light brass 12-pounder guns and a 5½-inch howitzer, at the village of

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Bán, opened on the garden on the morning of the 15th (No. I.). On the night of the 19th, another (No. II.) for two 8-inch and one 5½-inch howitzers was erected at the village of Kamonah; followed, on the two next nights, by two more (No. III.) for three bronze 12-pounder guns in the village itself, and (No. IV.) a breaching battery for six iron 18-pounder guns, about 300 yards in its front, and connected by a trench of communication. 1807 October

22*nd October*.—The enemy made a bold sally, and attempted to set fire to the breaching battery, but were repulsed. The details for battery duty this day are given; they were as follows:—

	Europeans.				Golandáz.			Lascars.		
	Captains.	Lieutenants.	N.-C. Officers.	Matrosses.	Havildars.	Naicks.	Privates.	Havildars.	Naicks.	Privates.
No. IV., breaching battery	1	1	1	23	1	1	22	1	2	60
No. II., howitzer „ ...	1	...	1	6	1	...	8	...	1	15
No. III., 12-pounder „ ...	...	1	1	8	1	...	8	...	1	15
No. I.	...	...	1	5	1	...	5	...	1	12
Total	2	2	4	42	4	1	43	1	5	102

Captain for the grand battery ... Captain-Lieutenant H. Stark.
Lieutenant „ ... ... Lieutenant E. Pryce.
„ for the 12-pounders ... „ C. Harris.
Captain for the howitzers ... Captain-Lieutenant A. Lindsay.

23*rd October*.—At daylight this morning all the batteries opened fire on the south-west face of the interior fort, and the outer defences flanking that face. On the night of the 24th a trench was pushed forward, and a short parallel constructed within about 120 yards of the breaching battery, in which, on the night of the 27th, the two 5½-inch mortars were placed (No. V.). A second

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1807 October supply of stores arrived from Agra on the 28th, under Lieutenant S. Parlby, who was directed to do duty with the 2nd Company, 2nd Battalion.

Lieutenant-Colonel Hardyman, of the 17th Regiment, joined with two more companies of that corps. The trench was being pushed on, and an advanced parallel leading to the crest of the glacis constructed.

Night of the 30th October.—Constructing advanced parallel. Two pioneer officers wounded—Lieutenants T. K. Ramsay (mortally) and Anderson; also a native infantry officer, Lieutenant Brooke. The breaches being nearly complete, three 18-pounders were removed from No. IV. back to No. III.

Night of the 31st October.—Parallel continued. Ensign Fordyce, of engineers, wounded. Lieutenant C. Harris, artillery, examined the ditch, and found its depth and width both considerable. The fire of the gun battery had November very much slackened, and there were only 13 shell fired during the 24 hours to-day. Next night, a mine was commenced at a distance of 107 feet from the counter-scarp. As it proceeded, however, the sides and roof of the gallery, being unsupported, were found to suffer so much from the concussion of the 18-pounder guns, that they had to cease firing. At 9 a.m. on the 4th November, it was found that the gallery had taken a wrong direction, which was accordingly altered. At 10 p.m. the enemy opened a heavy fire and sprung a mine, which, however, did not appear to do any harm. The guns and howitzers fired slowly during the 5th; the two mortars were silent. Next morning a considerable part of the gallery gave way, and the fire was further slackened. The obstruction was cleared away without loss of time; but on the morning of the 7th, as the miners were preparing to charge a chamber which had

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been prepared, a portion of the gallery fell in beyond the shaft, and nearly buried one of the men, who was however got out. 1807 November

Working was now chiefly carried on at night to avoid discovery; and as the soil had proved so treacherous, the 8th, 9th, and 10th were taken up in preparing a quantity of planking, and securing the gallery. Its length on the 10th was found to be—

	Feet.
From the entrance to the mine	27
From the mine to the ditch	57

The grenadier company of the 17th Regiment arrived in camp from Muttra to-day. Intelligence was received that two more mines, which the enemy had been preparing, had failed.

Lieutenant Harris, who had been acting as engineer, was slightly wounded this morning, and Lieutenant W. McQuhae, of the same company, was ordered to act in his room.

Night of the 11th November.—Lieutenant Jones, senior engineer, having reported the enemy to be actively countermining, orders were given for immediately preparing and firing the mine. At 8 p.m., however, before this could be effected, the enemy broke into the lower part of the gallery, and effectually smoked our people out. Next day, as they still kept possession of it, the firing of the batteries, which had been almost entirely discontinued, was renewed, and a continuation of the parallel by single sap was carried on towards the circular bastion, to the right of the attack. Lieutenant Swinton, the last remaining officer of the pioneers, was wounded in the head on the night of the 12th, while placing the gabions. The work was however carried on, on the 13th and 14th, the enemy endeavouring to impede

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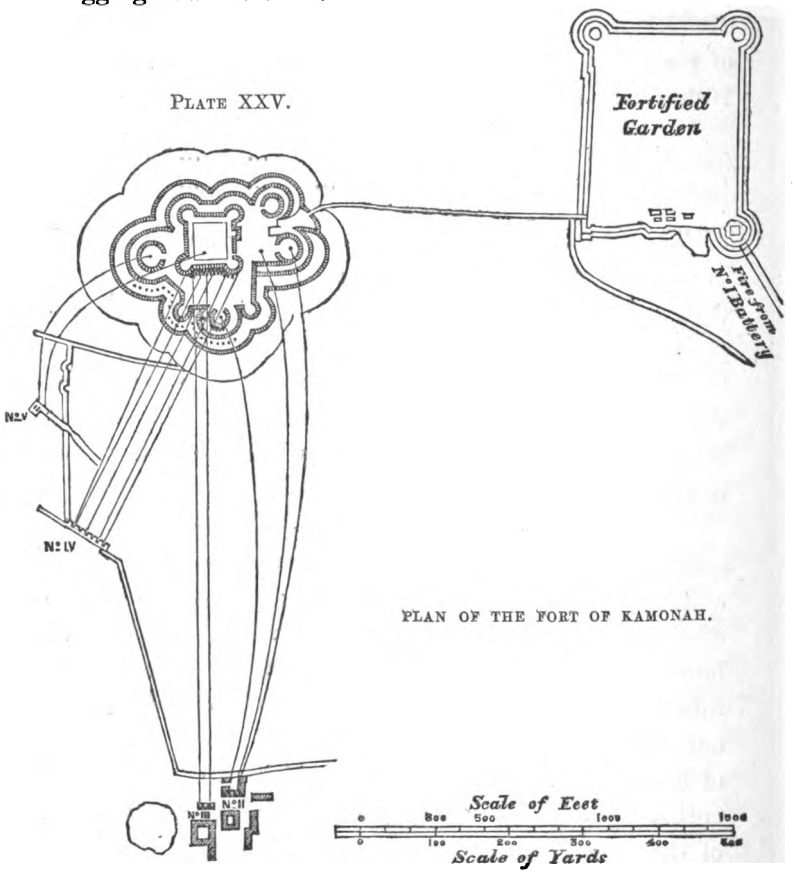
1807 November the work by throwing powder-bags enclosed in clay. When within 15 yards of the ditch, the enemy were distinctly heard at work under the head of the sap, where a turn was made to the right, and we commenced digging down to them.



Night of the 14th November.—About 8 p.m. Lieutenant McQuhae, acting engineer, was severely burned by the explosion beside him of one of the powder-bags; and between 10 and 11 o'clock the enemy sprung a mine, which destroyed the head of the approach, burying

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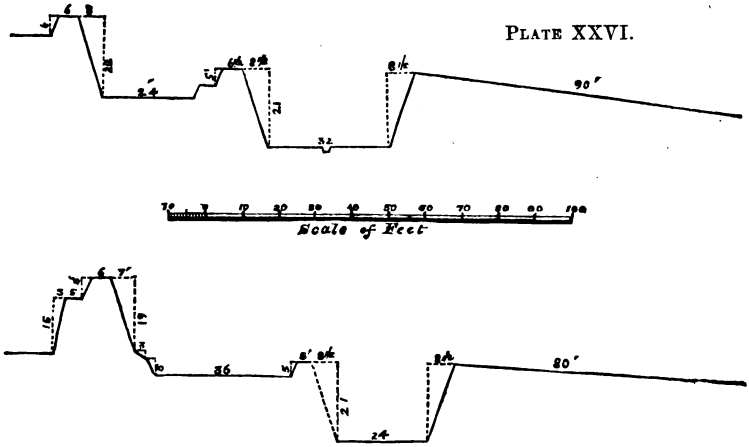
in the ruins Lieutenant Jones, a pioneer, and several miners. Except those of a jemadar and three miners, the bodies were recovered during the night. Every officer of engineers and pioneers was now either killed or wounded. 1807 November

The next day was employed in clearing away the ruins and carrying on the sap. It was continued during the night; and by great exertions a mine was finally loaded and fired at 2 p.m. on the 16th. It failed, however, as eleven paces of the glacis still intervened between

PLATE XXVI.



SECTIONS OF FORT KAMONAH.

the crater and counterscarp. Meanwhile, the firing from the batteries upon the breach was kept up uninterruptedly, the expenditure of ammunition on the 17th being 785 shot and 93 shell; on the 18th, 1060 shot and 162 shell till half-past 2 p.m., when the storming took place.

Lieut.-Colonel Hardyman commanded the assaulting column on the fort, consisting of five companies 17th Regiment, the grenadier battalion under Captain Drummond, and the grenadier companies of the 1st Brigade

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1807 November under Major Nangreave, 1—13th N.I. Another column of 800 rank and file from the 1st Brigade, with two 6-pounder guns, was directed, under Brigadier William Duff, to attack the fortified garden at the same time. The whole of the troops off duty were ordered to be in readiness under Lieut.-Colonel Hutchinson, field officer of the day; and the cavalry, under Major Philpot, were to cut off the expected retreat of the enemy.

The latter had been very quiet, but were ready. Rows of holes had been prepared in the ditch, and filled with powder and covered over with straw, all along the front attacked. Frameworks of bamboos covered with thatch were placed on the slope of breach and parapet, which were set on fire as the storming party moved down. Some delay also had been made in the advance of the column, and the attack on the garden had commenced about half an hour before. It had failed, the scaling ladders proving too short; Brigadier Duff was killed, and most of the officers killed or wounded. There was therefore little to distract the attention of the garrison from the principal attacking column. At first the sheet of flame over the breach and in the ditch prevented its approach, but at length a part of the column got into the ditch, and ladders were placed. Wherever they assayed the ascent, they were met by showers of bags, pots, and clay balls filled with powder. Some of the 17th men got up to the top of the rampart near the breach, but were forced back by the long spears of the enemy. Lieutenant Wilkie, an officer appointed to the pioneers, with five or six men, got to the summit of the breach, but were driven down by an explosion of powder. Finally, after an ineffectual struggle of three quarters of an hour, the storming party gave way. The loss in this business was very heavy.

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1807 November

	Killed.	Wounded.	Total.
European officers	9	18	27
Native officers	2	8	10
Non-commissioned officers, rank and file	94	410	504
Total	105	436	541

It is, however, deserving of mention that the enemy restored to Major-General Dickens, on his application, the killed and wounded which had been left in their possession.

No firing took place on the 19th, and during the night the enemy evacuated the fort and garden. One iron and five bronze guns were found in the place, including two pieces in the garden, a large quantity of powder, but no shot.

The siege of this small fort is a proof of the difficulties which may stop the way of an investing force, and of the danger of counting upon an easy reduction because the place is not a large and formidable-looking fortress. It proves also that to attack any fort without a sufficiency of ordnance is the most expensive undertaking that can be engaged in. There is no doubt that had Major-General Dickens been properly provided with mortars, he could have invested the place and compelled a surrender within a week.

On the 22nd of November, the army marched to Ganáori, which still held out. This was built on the same plan as Kamonah—a square interior fort, with three circular detached bastions, surrounded by a parapet and ditch. Ground was taken on the night of the 23rd, and a trench was carried forward to within 336 yards of the ditch where, on the night of the 3rd of December, a breaching battery for six 18-pounder guns

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1807 November

was commenced,* flanked by two other half-sunken ones, of which the left was for two 8-inch and two 5½-inch mortars, and the right for two bronze 12-pounders and one 5½-inch howitzer. The breaching battery opened on the 6th, the other two on the 9th and 10th. At 7 o'clock p.m. on the 11th, the enemy abandoned the fort, which was taken possession of immediately after. The capture of Ganáori was effected without a single casualty, so cautiously had the works of the attack been carried on. Nevertheless, had a greater number of mortars been employed, the loss of the enemy would have been much more severe, and the place would have been taken in less than half the time. Considering, too, the size of their forts and

* The following is a description of this battery :—Length, 153 feet; height of parapet, 7½ feet; length of the merlons inside, 15 feet; openings of embrasures inside, 2 feet; outside, 6 feet. The inner face of the battery was composed of gabions 3 feet 8 inches high, 3 feet in diameter, filled with earth well rammed; outside of layers of sandbags 3 feet in thickness, the space between them and the gabions being earth well rammed, 6 feet in breadth. Total thickness of parapet, 12 feet. The fascines were 9, 6, 5, and 4 feet long. The first row was composed of 6 and 9 feet fascines; the second and third, of 5 and 9; the fourth, fifth, and six, of 4 and 9; the seventh and eighth, of 6 and 6; and the ninth, of 6 and 5. The embrasures covered with bamboos, made like ladders, laid over the embrasures and fastened down with hooked or crooked pins, and then covered with fascines, fastened well down in the same manner. Aim frontlets of wood, 4 inches thick, were used, fixed on the breech of the guns, which saved lives, and prevented several from being wounded. They were finally found covered with matchlock shot.

The flank batteries were each sunk 3 feet below the level of the soil; they were 7½ feet high. Thickness of the merlons, 12 feet, viz. 3 feet of gabions and 9 feet of fascines. The sides of the embrasures were covered with buffalo hides, to prevent them catching fire; the hides were kept constantly wet.

The battery magazines were about 10 feet square, and sunk 6 feet; the roof supported by strong beams and planks, covered with tarpaulins, and earth laid over these. The entrance was from the battery, about 8 feet in length, and then turned off at right angles into the magazine. There was only one day's supply kept in each magazine, which was replenished every night.

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strength of their garrisons, the force of cavalry and infantry employed in their reduction was sufficient; but both artillery and pioneers, the latter especially, were not so. 1807 November

The daily expenditure of ammunition is given in the appendix to this chapter (Note C), and it will not fail to be remarked that the number of shell fired at Ganáori was very much greater than at Kamonah. Indeed, the evacuation of the other place was probably due as much to the increased amount of vertical fire on the 17th and 18th of November, as to any apprehension of an assault. Due credit must be given to the garrison of Kamonah for their spirited defence, and for their exertions in countermining. The nature of the soil, a sandy clay, made the risk of running a gallery without proper lining very great. Nevertheless, the enemy were found to have constructed no less than six galleries, opening from the ditch. One of them was still in good order when found; the others were more or less destroyed. It was evident the garrison depended rather upon these measures, than upon the fire of their ordnance, for resistance.

Colonel Horsford, to whom, as superintending the engineering operations, as well as commanding the artillery and the reserve brigade, the greatest share of the labour and responsibility fell during the sieges, was thus mentioned by the Governor-General:—

"GENERAL ORDERS.

"25th January, 1808.

"The Governor-General has much satisfaction, in expressing his fullest approbation of the zeal, exertion, and ability with which Lieut.-Colonel Commandant Horsford conducted the service immediately committed to his discharge, in the command of the artillery and in the direction of the engineer department; and he

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is particularly satisfied by the opportunity thus afforded him of renewing that testimony of approbation by which, on former occasions, the valuable services of that experienced and meritorious officer have been distinguished."

MINOR SIEGES IN BANDELKHAND.

It has before been stated that the province of Bandelkhand was ceded to the British by the Peshwah according to the treaty of Bassein in 1802, but for ten years afterwards it required the presence of a large force to keep it in even nominal subjection. The numerous strongholds which abounded throughout the country, and the independent spirit of its people, had enabled the Bundela chiefs for centuries to assert a certain freedom from control.

1805 In the beginning of 1805, two companies of the artillery formed part of the force in Bandelkhand: the B-16 R.A. C-16 R.A. 1st and 2nd Companies of the 3rd Battalion, both of which had been there since 1803. Of the officers which originally accompanied them, Capt.-Lieutenant Feade and Lieutenant Morris had been killed at Bela, Capt.-Lieutenant Dowall had vacated on promotion, and Lieutenant W. Richards was at Cawnpore, ill from the wound he had received at the capture of Gwalior.

The officers now present were :—1st Company, 3rd Battalion, Captain Robert Turton; 2nd Company, 3rd Battalion, Capt.-Lieutenant William Hopper; Lieutenant Edward Faithful, doing duty from 6th Company, 2nd Battalion.

1806 In the beginning of the next year, as the Regent of Gohad refused to surrender his fort to Sindiah, to whom the Governor-General had thought fit to give it, a force under Lieut.-Colonel Robert Bowie was sent to compel submission. Besides the two companies above men- A-19 R.A. tioned, the 2nd Company, 1st Battalion, then stationed

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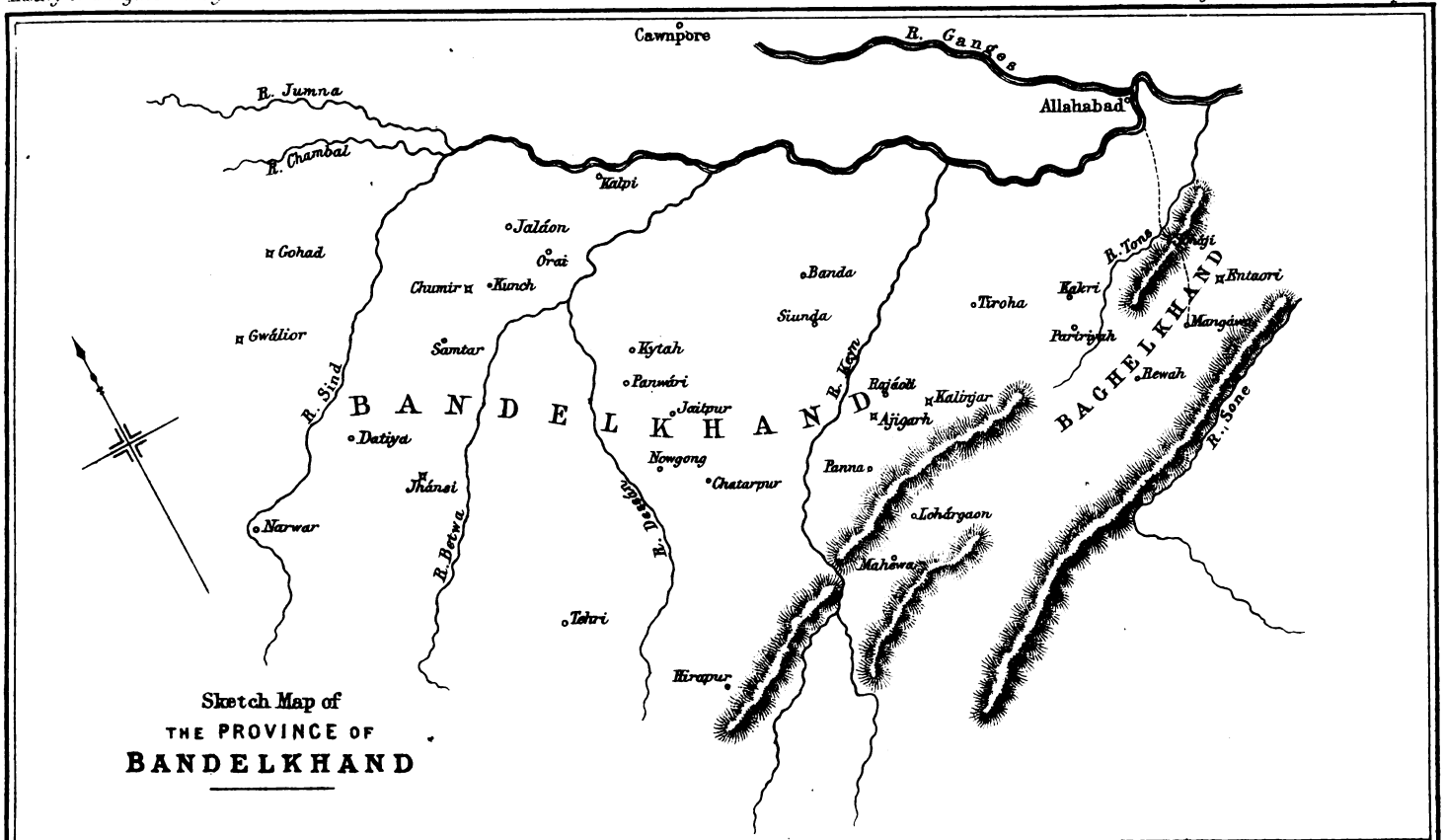

Sketch Map of
THE PROVINCE OF
BANDELKHAND

London: Henry S. King & Co., 65, Cornhill.
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at Dholpore, accompanied it. Captain George Raban and Lieutenants A. Lindsay and James Ferris, were present. Gohad was taken in February. 1806

In the following January the fort of Chumir, near Kunch, was taken by Lieut.-Colonel Hawkins, who had temporarily succeeded to the command in Bandelkhand, in spite of a determined resistance; and Captain Hopper, who, with his company, was present, was honourably mentioned for[1] "the professional ability and zealous exertions displayed" by himself and his men. 1807

Beyond, however, the fact that the capture of this place was considered generally a very creditable affair to those engaged, nothing appears to have been recorded of the details.

In the end of the next year the restless spirit again broke out. Lachman Dawa, a Rájput chief, had in 1804 seized on the fort of Ajigarh, and its strength encouraged him to evade payment of his land-rent, and aim at independence. Gopál Singh, another and more lawless marauder, had been for some time in open resistance; and his support was not wanting. Ajigarh was to have been delivered up by December; but as Lachman Singh showed he had no intention of carrying out the agreement, Colonel Martindell, commanding in the province, was directed to take it. 1808

The Governor-General's agent, Mr. Richardson, was at this time on the south-west frontier of the province, with a detachment commanded by Major Cuppage. Captain-Lieutenant James H. Brooke commanded a detail of artillery with it, his subaltern officers being Lieutenants R. M. O. Gramshaw and C. Hay Campbell.

Major Cuppage moved first against Hirapur, a small fort west of the Dessán river, in the Tehri district.

[1] G. O. C. C. Fort William, February 17th, 1807.

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1808 Considerable difficulty was experienced in getting the stores, laden in country carts, up the rough tracks which served as a road over the ghát.* The two 18-pounder guns were unlimbered and dragged up the pass by hand. Want of water made it hard work. This was on the 19th December. Hardly any reconnaissance was made, but a battery was constructed on a rising ground at the village, nearly 450 yards from the fort. The ground being very rocky, and giving little parapet material, it was built of fascines to the soles of the embrasures, and overlaid with sand-bags. The fort was 80 yards by 40 in extent, with eight towers; the masonry walls 6½ feet thick at eight feet above the base. At 12 o'clock the guns commenced to fire on the square bastion of the gateway, though a better breach could have been made in the curtain. At half-past four, considerable progress having been made, Lieutenants Gramshaw and Campbell were left to keep up a fire at intervals during the night, but towards morning the garrison evacuated the fort.

1809 January From this place Major Cuppage marched to join Colonel Martindell, and reached him on the 12th of January. The whole force now consisted of:—

Native Cavalry—Three squadrons.
Native Infantry—Two regiments, and detachment of four others.
Artillery—Details of European and golandáz companies.
Siege Ordnance—Four iron 18-pounder guns; two iron 12-pounder guns; two 8-inch howitzers.
Field Ordnance—Eight brass 6-pounder guns, and two brass 5½-inch howitzers.

Capt.-Lieutenant J. Ferris, Lieutenants D. Macleod and T. Marshall, were the artillery officers with Colonel Martindell. Captain Brooke being senior assumed command of the arm.

* A pass over or through a mountain ridge.

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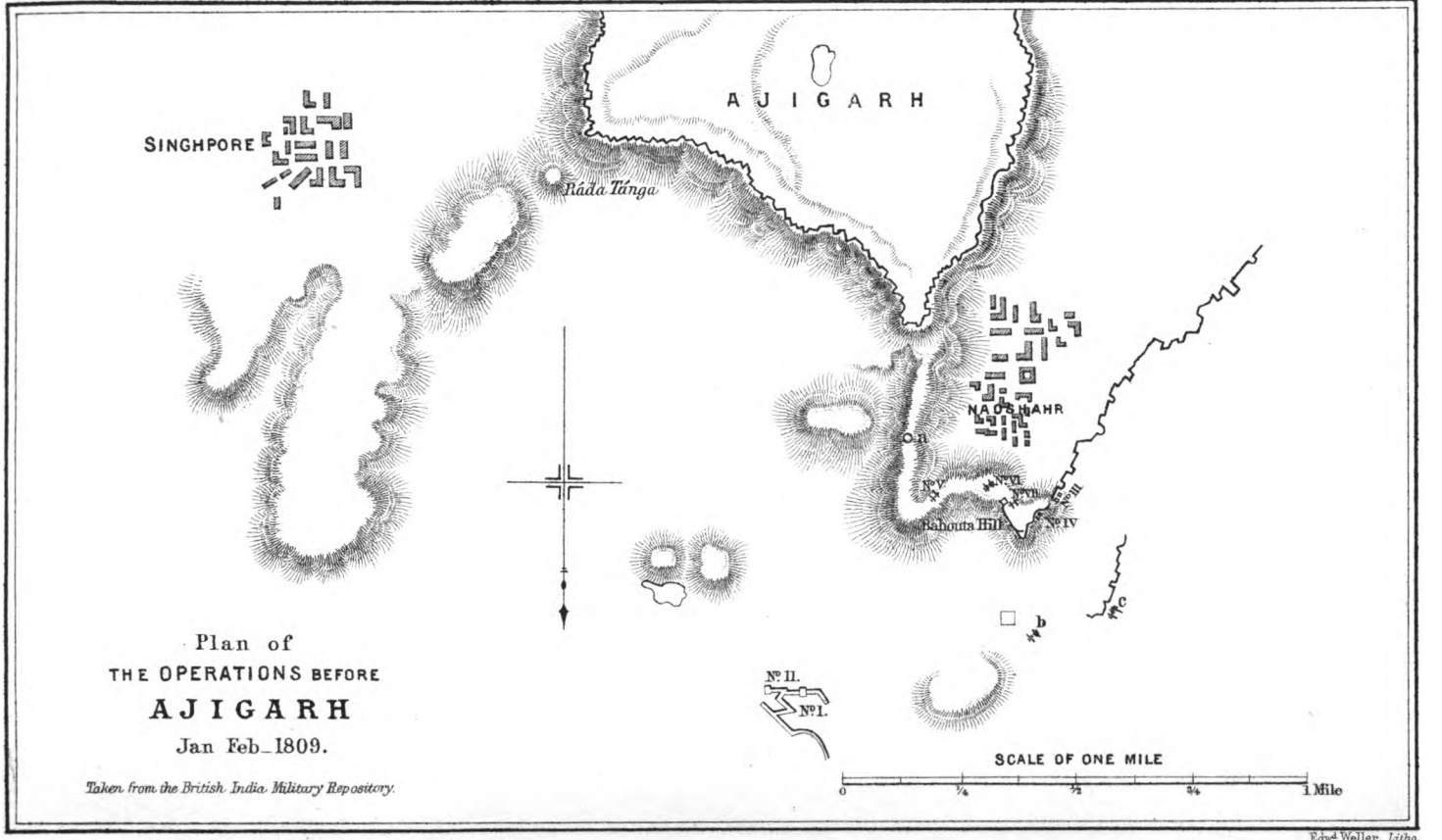

Plan of
THE OPERATIONS BEFORE
AJIGARH
Jan Feb_1809.

Taken from the British India Military Repository.

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On the 13th the force moved towards Ajigarh, and on the 21st encamped about twelve miles from it. 1809 January

About 500 of Lachman Singh's followers had taken up a strong position on the Ragowli * hills. They were attacked the next day in the afternoon. Lieut.-Colonel Lawtie, with the 1st Battalion 18th and a detachment of the 2nd Battalion 1st N.I., was directed on the south-east point of the hill on which Ragowli was situated, while Major Kelly, with four companies 4th Light Infantry Battalion N.I., moved round the north-east point. Captain Brooke and his two subalterns accompanied the first party with two field guns and a howitzer, and Lieutenant D. Macleod with one 6-pounder the latter. The attack was, however, unsuccessful. The enemy surrounded fought hard behind cover, of which the assailants probably did not avail themselves, as in the short remnant of daylight they lost 28 killed and 115 wounded—all of the native infantry. Lieutenant Jamieson died of his wounds, and Lieutenant Fry lost an arm. The hill was evacuated during the night, the enemy having lost more severely.

Two days after this the force moved forward and encamped a mile and a quarter from the eastern face of Ajigarh.

The hill on which this fort was built is about 800 feet in height, with extremely steep sides covered with wood and jungle, perpendicular near the top for a considerable height, nowhere less than thirty feet. A stone parapet varying from 10 to 20 feet in height, constructed on the edge of the brow, enclosed an irregularly triangular space two and three-quarter miles in circumference. Opposite the north-east angle of the fort

* More properly spelt and pronounced Rajáoli, but custom appears to have altered the pronunciation as well as the spelling.

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1809 January

rises the precipitous rock of Ráda Tánga, at a distance of only 200 yards, but its top was secured from possession by artillery by its own scarped sides. On the north-west angle is the hill Bahauta, a spur of the main

VIEW OF AJIGARH FROM THE EAST.
(*Reduced from a Drawing by Lieutenant C. Hay Campbell, Artillery.*)

eminence. Its highest point was 460 feet from the fort (but 200 feet lower), and affording insufficient space for guns at 600 yards; however, there was ground on the same ridge. It overlooked Naoshahr (the new town), and was in possession of the enemy.

The 25th, 26th, and 27th were spent in reconnoitring the place. On the 27th, two officers * of artillery, with a party employed on this duty, succeeded in getting to the top of the north-east hill, from which a good view of the gateway and ground to the north-west was obtained. Colonel Martindell, who was of the party, on receiving the report of these officers, followed them to

* One of the officers was, it is believed, Lieutenant Charles Hay Campbell.

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the top, and after examining the fort from this place, determined to attack from the north-east of the hill Bahauta. The want of a theodolite in taking vertical angles was a serious deficiency, by no means supplied by gun quadrants, which were the only available substitute. The great height of the hill above the level plain deceived the eye as to the distance; and although the spot fixed upon to commence operations was thought to be within battering distance, Captain Brooke, on the evening of the 29th, when going to mark out a battery (No. I.) for two 12-pounder guns and two 8-inch howitzers, thought otherwise, and on his own responsibility advanced the position for it about 250 yards. The ordnance was placed in battery next day; but as the enemy continued sullenly silent, they did not open, and preparations were made to erect an 18-pounder battery (No. II.) to the left of No. I. They opened fire on the 6th of February upon the north-west angle of the fort, but the range, about 1500 yards in horizontal distance, was too great for any useful purpose. The height of the gateway above the battery was 863 feet, and the guns (charges one-third of the shot) were given 19 degrees of elevation. 1809 January February

The ridge Bahauta must, however, have been taken before further progress could be made, as from it all advanced works could be taken in reverse. There was a redoubt (*a*) upon it; and, by Captain Brooke's advice, the 12-pounder guns drawn out of the battery on the plain kept up a brisk fire on it for about an hour on the 6th, and did much damage. The attack was made in the night. Three 18-pounders, two 12-pounders, and one howitzer were left in the batteries under Captain Ferris, while Captain Brooke, with Lieutenants Gramshaw and Campbell, accompanied the storming party with one

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1809 February

18-pounder, one howitzer, and two 6-pounders. Lieutenant Gramshaw, with the two 6-pounders, was posted near the foot of the spur (*b*) when the infantry began to ascend it; and the other two officers took up a spot (*c*) which Captain Brooke that evening, disguised as a native, had himself selected. Fire was opened by a signal from Captain Ferris's battery, and, under an ill-directed reply from the fort, the infantry ascended and carried the position without any loss.

The first thing now done was to construct a road at the back of the hill through the jungle. Next, a battery (No. III.) was erected at the gate of Naoshahr, rather more than 800 yards from the gate of the fort. Two 18-pounders were placed in it on the morning of the 8th. The following night, a battery (No. IV.) for two 6-pounders was placed on the shoulder of the ridge above No. III., and under its cover two 18-pounders were dragged up and placed near a masonry building (*D*), which occupied the whole breadth of the ridge. On the night of the 9th one 6-pounder was got past this building, and a battery (No. V.) erected for it at 460 yards from the gate. The 18-pounders were also advanced by cutting a passage through the building for them, and formed battery No. VI., their place being taken by two 12-pounders, forming No. VII. The distances of these two from the gate were respectively 580 and 770 yards.

Two 8-inch howitzers were placed on the left of No. III.; and as the elevation required to throw the shells well into the fort without unduly increasing the charge was very great, the elevating screws were taken off, the screw-boxes turned down, and sheepskins placed between them and the cascable. Channels were made to sink the trails in, planks being laid for them and for the wheels,

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to allow of recoil. By these means an elevation of 40 degrees was obtained, and the howitzers acted instead of the mortars, so unaccountably omitted from the equipment. 1809 February

On the morning of the 11th the batteries were all reported ready.

They were commanded as follows:—

No. III. (18-pounders), Lieutenant D. Macleod.

No. V. (12-pounders), Lieutenant T. Marshall. Captain Brooke directed the fire from this point.

No. VI. (18-pounders), Lieutenant R. M. O. Gramshaw.

No. VII. (12-pounders), Lieutenant C. Hay Campbell, who had orders to dismount the enemy's guns.

They opened fire at 3.15 p.m., and by sunset had brought down about twenty feet of the curtain and great part of a bastion of the lower works, along with an iron mortar mounted in the latter.

Next morning the fire recommenced early till 10 a.m., when the smoke hanging in the intervening valley intercepted all view. At 2 p.m. began again till sunset. On the 13th at daybreak they were at work. About fifty feet of a wall which they had been bombarding, with apparently little effect, came down suddenly, exposing the fifth gateway to view. This was begun upon, when at 10 a.m. the order to cease firing was given. Lachman Singh had surrendered.

Setting aside the want of mortars, this siege must be looked upon as a well-conducted one. Notwithstanding the unusual difficulties in the way, this, the strongest fort in Bandelkhand, excepting perhaps Kálinjar, was taken with the loss of only one sepoy. The defence, it is true, was contemptible; but the same men had fought well at Ragowli, and to the judicious and careful arrangements of Captain Brooke this cheap success was

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1809 February chiefly due. It is also worthy of remark that, notwithstanding the severe trial to which they were subjected, the 8-inch howitzers fired 268 rounds, and were not themselves included in the list of stores expended during the siege. The following mention of the artillery in Colonel Martindell's despatch to the adjutant-general was well deserved :—

"To Captain Brooke, of the artillery, to his officers and men, I feel the greatest obligation. The unremitted exertions he made, and the skill and science he displayed during the siege, entitles this valuable officer * to my warmest approbation and applause."

The orders of the day also contained a high encomium on the corps, but the Governor-General omits all mention of them in the general orders issued on this occasion.

Capture of Bhawáni.

1809 August In August, 1809, a force was sent against the town of Bhawáni, in Hariána, the inhabitants of which had, after carrying on an organized system of robbery for some time, had the audacity to plunder the baggage of a British detachment, and had followed this up by an insolent refusal to make any reparation. Lieut.-Colonel G. Ball, then commanding at Rewári, was sent in command of a detachment composed as follows :—

6th Regiment Native Cavalry.
600 Captain Skinner's irregular horse.
1—9th Regiment N.I.
2—18th ,,
1—22nd ,,
2—23rd ,,

with a train of artillery under Captain G. Mason. The 7-23 R. 3rd Company, 3rd Battalion Artillery was stationed at

* See Note B in the appendix to this chapter.

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this time at Rewári and Delhi; from which stations in Lieut.-Colonel Ball's command the force was detailed, and must therefore have been the company employed. In all probability, as the train of ordnance was a large one,* a portion of the irregular golandáz,† then stationed at Delhi,‡ were also sent. 1809 August

The force left Rewári on the 20th of August, and arrived before Bhawáni on the 27th. The country lying on the borders of the desert is very dry, and the troops met with serious difficulty in the want of water. No time was lost in getting batteries ready, for on the morning of the 28th two 18-pounders, two 12-pounders, and two howitzers were in position, and a trench prepared for six hundred men, flanked by two howitzers and two 6-pounders. They opened fire at sunrise, and by noon breaches were reported practicable. The place was stormed and taken after a vigorous resistance, which lasted about three hours and a half. The casualties among the artillery and pioneers were 1 gun lascar and 2 privates killed; 1 sergeant, 1 havildar, 1 naick, and 9 privates wounded.

Lieutenant R. Tickell, of the engineers, who had formerly belonged to the artillery, conducted the arrangements, as senior in the former department.

* There appears to have been, besides the eight battalion 6-pounders, the following ordnance:—18-pounder guns, 2; 12-pounder guns, 2; 6-pounder guns, 2; 5½-inch howitzers, 2.

† These came over with some Telinga (or regular infantry) battalions from Sindiah's service in 1804. There were about 200. Some were alive and drawing pay in 1851.

‡ I have just come across a note by the late Brigadier-General Sir J. Tennant, K.C.B., in his copy of Captain Buckle's Memoir, p. 291, in reference to this, to the following effect:—"Detachment from Kurnal and Delhi, Captain Mason commanding; Captain Macleod, Lieutenants Pryce and Harris." There were therefore portions of the 2nd and 3rd Companies, 3rd Battalion, with the above-mentioned officers at the capture of Bhawáni. C-16 R.A 7-23 R.A

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1809 August

Lieut-Colonel Ball's detachment orders noticed the artillery in the following terms:—

"To Captain Mason, in the general command of the artillery, the very able arrangement of that officer's department throughout, but particularly in conducting the duties of the breaching batteries, with the very heavy and well-directed fire that was so rapidly kept up, in covering the advance and approach of the storming party to the points of attack, entitles Captain Mason to every commendation, and reflects great credit upon the officers and men under his command."

Siege of Kálinjar, 1812.

Gopál Singh, who by his energy kept Bandelkhand for four years in a continual state of warfare, was a military adventurer who did not at any time possess any territorial dominion, and had no regular army, except the followers whom the restless spirit of the Bundelas, and the hope of plunder, attracted to his standard. He commenced by usurping the district of Kotra, of which he was soon dispossessed by a British force. Thenceforward he took refuge in the hilly portion of Panna and Rewah, from thence he made incursions, as opportunity offered, into the plains. Among the officers of artillery who were stationed in Bandelkhand during part of the period referred to, were Lieutenants Timbrell and Brooke.*

* It will not be a matter of surprise that so little record remains of the names of officers employed upon services in a desultory warfare, such as was carried on in Bandelkhand for years, when it is considered that officers were rarely at the head-quarters of the company they belonged to. Artillery was divided into brigades, and these into companies, chiefly to regulate promotion; a battery, except in the horse artillery, existed only in name. Foot artillery officers were invariably detached on outpost duty, sometimes with details of their own companies, sometimes with golandáz, which at this time had no officers of its own; and it was very seldom that more than one officer, generally the senior, remained at head-quarters. Thus, the following detail of outposts is published in artillery field orders by Lieut.-Colonel Henry Grace, dated 1st February, 1811:—

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The service performed by the troops in this petty warfare, if uninteresting, was a laborious one. Lieutenant Timbrell, commanding a detachment of the 6th Company, 3rd Battalion, at Ajigarh, is mentioned upon one occasion, when Gopál Singh was routed at Paririya, when he was wounded by a musket ball. Gopál Singh, however, shortly after, eluding pursuit, turned the flank of his pursuers and came down upon Tiroha, where a cantonment had been established, which, as well as the town, was plundered. But Lieut.-Colonel Brown, of the Bengal cavalry, an active and intelligent officer, and Lieut.-Colonel Arnold, of the native infantry, took him in hand, and left him but little peace until, in January, 1812, he finally gave in and received a jaghire from the British Government—an actual proof of the trouble he had given, and a possible pledge for future good behaviour. 1809 August B-19 R.A.

This submission was not a termination of hostilities in Bandelkhand. The Kiladár of Ajigarh was under medical treatment as a lunatic at Calcutta, but the fort of Kálinjar had not been meddled with by the English; and its tenant-in-chief, Dariáo Singh, though a subject of the British Government, taking this as a proof of his

1st Company, 3rd Battalion, at Cawnpore, furnished details for	Lucknow Sitapur Bairamghát Secrora	In Oudh.
7th Company, 3rd Battalion, at Cawnpore, furnished details for	Kunch Tiroha Banda Kálpi	In Bandelkhand.
2nd Company, 1st Battalion, and 6th Company, 3rd Battalion, at Allahabad, furnished details for	Kaitah Lohárgaon Ajigarh (Lieut. T. Timbrell incharge)	In Bandelkhand.
	Partábgarh Sultanpore	In Oudh.

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1809 August

strength, and relying on the protection of Siva,* whose servant he professed himself to be, defied, with many assurances and offers of implicit obedience, and declarations of rectitude of intention, the authority of Mr. Richardson, the agent for the Governor-General in the province of Bandelkhand.

1812 January

Wherefore Colonel Gabriel Martindell, commanding in the province, marched from Banda on the 15th of January, 1812, with the following troops :—

ARTILLERY.

Details from Allahabad and Cawnpore, commanded by Major G. Fuller.†

One squadron 8th Light Dragoons.	Six battalions native infantry.
One squadron native cavalry.	Three companies N.I. (Light).
One regiment ,, ,,	Three companies pioneers.
Five companies 53rd Regiment.	

This force arrived before Kálinjar on the 19th of January.

The fort of Kálinjar is situated on an isolated rock, rising above 900 feet from the surrounding level, about four miles in circumference at the summit, and ten or twelve miles at the base. The sides of the hill were covered with impenetrable bush and bamboo jungle. The walls of the fort, loopholed as well as pierced for guns, follow the configuration of the ground. The town lay at the foot of the hill, at the south-east angle, and from thence a broad road wound along the eastern face, defended by seven gateways. Opposite to the north-east extremity,

* The second person of the Hindu Triad, of which Brahma is head.

† The following artillery officers are stated, on the authority of the late Brigadier-General Sir James Tennant, to have been on this service :— Captain W. H. Green; Captain-Lieutenants W. Battine and N. Webb; Lieutenants E. Pryce, D. Macleod, and J. Tennant (Adjutant); Lieut. Fireworkers H. Webb and E. P. Gowan. The 1st and 6th Companies, 3rd Battalion (B-16 and B-19 R.A.), and a detail from the 4th Company, 1st Battalion (2-23 R.A.) would therefore appear to have been present.

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and distant about 800 yards, stood another hill, nearly as lofty, but not so extensive, as the fort. On this hill it was determined to erect batteries, which from their commanding position would, it was expected, enfilade a great portion of the works, and prepare the way for the breaching. 1812 January

Colonel Martindell, with Captain H. Carmichael Smyth, the chief engineer, had, after reconnoitring, fixed upon the main gateway in the northern face as the best point for practicable breaching. Accordingly, on the morning of the 22nd, Lieutenant Anquetell was sent with the light companies of 1—9th and of the 22nd N.I. to take possession of the hill, and working parties were detailed to make a road to its summit, which was finished by the 23rd; and by the following evening two 18-pounders were in battery on the top—a work of considerable labour,* in which the artillery were assisted by the willingly rendered exertions of the 8th Royal Irish Dragoons and the 53rd Regiment, as well as the native infantry and pioneers. Next morning, the 25th, two 8-inch mortars were got up. Two more 18-pounders were next placed in battery on a spur of the hill, also bearing upon the north-east angle of the fort, and two more batteries, one of two 18-pounders and the other of two 12-pounders, were placed in the plain against the main gateway.

At daylight on the 28th all the batteries opened, apparently with good effect. The town was taken the

* It must have been if Colonel Martindell's despatch of the 24th of January be correct. He speaks of it as an "arduous and apparently impracticable undertaking, the difficulty of which may readily be conceived, when I acquaint you that the hill, in several parts where the gun was taken up, cannot be less than 75 degrees of elevation, and in no part of it less than 45 degrees." But the merit due to the troops need not be withheld because the gallant colonel's ideas on the subject of elevation were evidently vague.

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1812 February same day, after a trifling resistance. The bombardment continued till the 2nd of February, when, the breaches being considered practicable, a storm was ordered. It failed however; the assaulting party came to a perpendicular rock, 20 feet high, which stopped them; and the enemy, rolling down large stones upon them, broke the ladders and inflicted heavy loss upon them, and they were obliged to retreat.

In consequence of this reverse, which was not expected by Colonel Martindell, letters were at once despatched to Cawnpore, to Lieutenant-General Champagné, commanding the troops in the field; and a detachment of the 53rd Regiment, with some 24-pounder guns and stores, were at once ordered out to Bandelkhand. On the 3rd of February, however, Dariáo Singh sent in his submission to Mr. Richardson; and, the terms of it having been finally arranged and concluded on the 6th, possession was taken of Kálinjar by our troops on the 8th of the same month.

The despatches relative to the second part of this siege do not appear to have reached the commander-in-chief, as duplicates were called for, with a plan of the fort. But whether these were ever rendered is not certain; they do not now exist among the records. The artillery were noticed in general orders[1] in the following terms:—

"The Governor-General deems it his duty to express his concurrence in the honourable testimony borne in the documents to the distinguished services of the artillery and engineer departments, and the exemplary valour displayed by Captain Smyth, the directing engineer, on the 2nd ultimo."

1813 The districts of Baghelkhand and Rewah, bordering on Bandelkhand, were, during the following year, the scenes of more petty warfare, of which all the details

[1] Dated Fort William, March, 1812.

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cannot now be given, although at the time the troops, and particularly the artillery, had, from the nature of country, much severe work to perform while employed upon that service. 1813

Lieut.-Colonel J. W. Adams had succeeded Colonel Martindell in command of the troops in Bandelkhand and Rewah. Captain H. Stark, commanding the 2nd Troop, marched from Meerut at the end of the year 1812, to join this force, with four guns, leaving two at Meerut, under Lieutenant Lumsden, and remained with it the whole of the following year. The incursions of Pindárí hordes were becoming more frequent, even within the border of British territory; and Sarned Singh, the chief of a small but strong fort (Entáori,* on the Bichia naddi), had to be reduced to submission. Accordingly, Colonel Adams marched against him. His force consisted of— A-F, R.H.A.

Captain Stark's four guns, H.A.	5th Native Cavalry.
Detail of foot artillery	Details of five battalions N.I.
Two 16-pounder guns.	A company of pioneers.

On the 3rd of December, he sent out in the evening a detachment to invest the place, which he reached with the rest of the force at 8 a.m. on the 4th. Sarned Singh had burnt down the village outside, and retired within the fort. Captain R. Tickell was the engineer officer; and with him the Colonel having reconnoitred, the heavy guns, covered by screens previously prepared, opened fire at 350 yards on the north-east bastion at December

* There is no village or fort spelt "Entáori" or "Entouree" to be found in Baghelkhand, on the Indian atlas, but the following, received from the officiating political agent in that district, enables me to trace its position:—"There is a village of the name of Etar (Atára) south of the road from Mungowa to Allahabad, *viâ* Sohagee pass, near the road on the bank of Beecheeah Naddee, where there is a fort which was taken from Sarnaid Sing Sengeer, zemindar of that place, by the British force, and made over to the Maharaja of Rewah."

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1813 December 12 o'clock. By 5 p.m. the breach was reported practicable, and a party already told off rushed forward to storm. For an hour and ten minutes the garrison defended themselves with desperate bravery, and resistance only ceased when, with the exception of a few who had fled, there were none but the wounded left. Sarned Singh had blown himself up. The loss of the assailants was seventy, of whom six were killed.

Thanks were awarded to Captain Stark and the officers under his command for their services in Colonel Adam's despatch of the 5th and the detachment orders of the following day. The 2nd Troop returned to Meerut in the end of 1814, after a little further service in the district.

Conquest of French Insular Possessions east of the Cape.

In 1810 the Bengal Artillery were called upon again for service beyond seas. The great loss inflicted upon British trade by French cruisers was the cause of the expeditions resulting in the conquest of the islands held by that nation east of the Cape. The Mascarenha Islands were the first attacked. Of these the island of Rodriguez
1809 was taken possession of in September, 1809, by a small force under Lieut.-Colonel Keatinge, of the 56th Regiment, which was sent from India with a squadron under Commodore Rowley, R.N. From thence, Bourbon was assailed; the batteries of Port Louis were destroyed, and as much public property as could be at once removed was
1810 taken away, but the island was not retained. Next year, reinforcements were sent to Colonel Keatinge, at Rod-
July riguez; and in July, a landing was effected a second time on Bourbon. The capital town, St. Dennis, was attacked; and on the 8th, the island was surrendered by Colonel

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St. Susanne, the governor. The artillery officers employed on this service were Major J. Taynton; Captains D. Ross (commissary of ordnance), J. Limond, W. Cullen; Lieutenants S. Cleaveland, J. N. Abdy, and F. Aldwinkle, of the Madras, and Captain R. Macintosh, of the Bombay Artillery. 1810 July

Serious naval disasters followed these successes; and the Mauritius, or Isle of France, still remained to be taken. Large reinforcements were sent from the shores of India, contributed from the three presidencies, and Major-General Robert Abercrombie was placed in command of the whole. The 6th Company, 1st Battalion of Artillery went from Bengal, with the following officers:—Capt.-Lieutenant Allen Graham; Lieutenant Isaac Pereira; Lieut.-Fireworkers James Ewart, Thomas Dingwall Fordyce, John Rawlins, and Hugh Cossart Baker.* 5-22 R.A.

The Bengal divisions reached the island of Rodriguez on the 21st of November, just in time to join the remainder of the force, which was on the eve of sailing; and next day the whole stood out to sea. The reef-girt coasts of the Mauritius are difficult of access. They were supposed by the French to be inaccessible; but British sailors thought otherwise. Night soundings were taken by Captain Paterson, H.M.S. *Hesper*, and Lieutenant Street, R.N.; and on the morning of the 29th, the fleet anchored in a narrow strait between an islet named the Gunner's Coin and the island itself. This place was distant from Port Louis, the object of attack; but the shelter for the ships, the facilities for disembarkation, and the absence of any force to oppose the landing, counterbalanced this disadvantage. The result of this judicious November

* The 19th Company, 5th Battalion Royal Artillery (now A Battery, 9th Brigade) also served in this expedition.—"History of the Royal Artillery," by Captain Duncan, R.A., vol. i. p. 409.

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1810 November selection was that 10,000 men, with guns, ammunition, stores, and three days' provision, were put on shore in three hours without a single accident. Fort Malartic, the only armed place in the vicinity, was taken possession of; the enemy, alarmed at the decisiveness of the proceedings, giving it up an easy prey. After landing, the army advanced some miles, and occupied a wood upon the road to Port Louis; but the exertions the men had made, added to the labour of dragging the guns and stores through thick underwood, and the heat and scarcity of water, told severely upon them. The march was resumed at day-break on the 30th, and a position taken up at the powder-mills about noon. The French General de Caen, recon-
December noitring too near the outpost, was driven back. Next day, Lieut.-Colonel W. Macleod was detached to attack some batteries which interrupted their communications with the fleet, while the main body came up with that of the enemy, supported by several field-pieces, and strongly posted. The English route lay along a narrow road, with a thick wood on either side; on emerging from which they deployed, charged, and carried the enemy's position at the point of the bayonet.

On the 2nd of December General de Caen surrendered, and the island passed into the hands which have ever since held it. A medal was granted for this service, but it was limited to the native troops, as an inducement to serve beyond sea with the greater readiness. The 6th Company remained with the Bengal division on the island the whole of the following year, returning to India early in 1812, when it was stationed in Fort William.

But the contest with the French in the East was not limited to these islands. When Holland became a French proconsulate, and the Dutch possessions in

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the Molucca Islands and Java, French colonies, the British Government proposed blockading their posts. Lord Minto, the Governor-General of India, moved thereto by the representations of Mr., afterwards Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, went a step further and determined upon conquest. Hence the expedition to the Eastern Archipelago commenced in 1810. Amboyna surrendered on the 17th of February to Captain Tucker, R.N., who had a detachment of 200 artillerymen and infantry, commanded by Captain Major H. Court, of the Madras Artillery, on board his squadron; and the Banda Isles were captured on the 12th of August by Captain Cole, R.N. 1810 December

Next year an expedition on an extended scale was sent against Java. It was placed under the command of Lieut.-General Sir Samuel Auchmuty, then holding the chief command in Madras, in co-operation with Rear-Admiral the Hon. P. Stopford. Bengal and Madras furnished their quotas of troops, and Ceylon two companies of Royal Artillery. 1811

The detail of artillery was as follows:—

Major Alexander Caldwell (Bengal), commanding.
Lieutenant Jonathan Scott (Bengal), adjutant.

ROYAL ARTILLERY.

8th Company, 4th Battalion. E.1 R.A.
10th ,, 6th ,, * 5-3 ,,

Captain Charles F. Napier; 2nd Captain John S. Byers; Lieutenants W. M. G. Colebrooke and Philip Patton.

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* I am indebted to Captain F. Duncan's "History of the Royal Artillery" for the numbers of these companies (vol i. pp. 261 and 417). Captain Napier commanded the latter of these companies, and Captain Byers probably the other. The first of these two officers was the father of Lord Napier of Magdála; he died on his way home in 1812: the second took holy orders, and died at Fulham in 1867.

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1811 BENGAL ARTILLERY.

D.16 R.A. 7th Company, 1st Battalion.

Captain W. Richards; Capt.-Lieutenant J. D. Smith; Lieutenant Charles Harris; Lieutenant-Fireworkers Charles Archer* and Henry Ralfe.

3-23 R.A. 1st Company, 2nd Battalion.

Captains J. F. Dundas and Henry Faithful; Lieutenants John J. Farrington and Allen Cameron; Lieutenant-Fireworkers L. M. Farnaby and W. Bell.

Reduced in 1857. 2nd Company Independent Golandáz.† (Latest number, 4th Company, 8th Battalion Bengal Artillery.)

A-D, R.H.A. MADRAS ARTILLERY.

Head-quarters and detachment A Troop, Horse Artillery.

Captain J. Noble; Lieutenant (and Adjutant) E. J. A. Driffield; Lieutenant E. S. Munro.

Captain J. Limond (Madras), commissary of ordnance.

The first rendezvous for the whole force was at
June Malacca, which the troops reached on the 1st of June, some weeks after the arrival of those from Bengal. They were brigaded here, on the 11th of the same month, in four divisions:—Advance, Colonel Robert Gillespie; right brigade, Colonel Gibb; left brigade, Lieut.-Colonel Adams; reserve, Colonel G. S. Wood.

Lieut.-Colonel Colin Mackenzie, of the Madras service, was chief engineer. The fleet, under command of Rear-Admiral Stopford, consisted of four line of battle ships, fourteen frigates, seven sloops, and eight of the Company's cruisers, with transports and several gunboats. Colonel Mackenzie, of the engineers, having been sent
July forward to reconnoitre a fit spot for landing, selected the village of Chillingching, about two miles east of Batavia.

August On the 4th of August the fleet anchored off this

* Died 10th July, 1811, on his passage to Java.

† These were companies of native artillery, raised first in 1809, for the service of the lower provinces and the islands.

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place, and about 4 o'clock p.m. the disembarkation of the troops commenced. Strange to say, nó opposition was made; the village was not occupied, and the whole of the infantry were landed before night. The French commander and governor of the island, General Janssens, had his head-quarters near Weltervreeden, where was the cantonment of the troops at Batavia, not quite half-way to Cornelis, a strongly fortified position. About Chillingching the country is low, and was intersected with swamps, saltpits, and canals. Notwithstanding its nature, no opposition was made; and the commander-in-chief, who had intended advancing upon Cornelis, altered his line of operations, and moved upon Batavia, which was occupied without resistance on the 8th, by part of the advance under Colonel Gillespie. Reports of an intended attack having been received, the troops were called out about 11 o'clock, to be in readiness, and were just in time to repel it. The enemy imagined, Captain Thorn says, that the town was held only by the two companies which had first entered it, knowing that the main body was still about three miles off, but in any case it is unaccountable that the French general should have allowed the English force to occupy the place before making any offensive movement. 1811 August

On the 10th the main body, having repaired the bridge across the Anjole river, moved forward, and Colonel Gillespie's brigade advanced to attack the French army, which occupied a position on the other side of Weltervreeden. Their right rested on a watercourse called the Slokan, along the left bank of which ran the high road to Cornelis; while their left was on a road between that and the Great Batavia river. The line was covered by pepper plantations, and the high road was blocked up by an *abatis*, behind which were four horse

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1811 August

artillery guns. Advancing in two columns, Colonel Gillespie deployed as soon as he was clear of the town, Captain Noble's two pieces and a 12-pounder replying to those of the enemy, who also kept up a hot fire from two villages in the woods on either side of the high road. Gillespie, however, carrying out the dispositions he had made, succeeded in turning their flanks—on their left by the little road already mentioned, and on their right by penetrating the villages themselves, which were set on fire; and the British troops carried the guns at the point of the bayonet. The contest lasted about two hours, when the main body reached the scene of action, and assisted the already victorious troops in the pursuit as far as the works of Cornelis. General Jumel, senior military officer under the governor, commanded the French army on this occasion. General Alberti, their *chef d'état major*, was severely wounded; and their loss amounted to about 500 men, and the four guns, besides the arsenal of Weltervreeden, containing upwards of 300 pieces of ordnance and military stores, which they had abandoned. Our loss amounted to 91 of all casualties. Lieutenant and Adjutant Driffield, Madras H.A., died of his wounds. The conduct of Captain Noble was specially mentioned by Colonel Gillespie in his despatch.

See PLATE XXIX.

The whole of the French force was now within the fortified lines of Cornelis. These were placed between the Great Batavia river and the river, or rather water-course, called the Slokan, and consisted of seven strong square redoubts and six batteries, forming an entrenched camp, with a circumference of nearly five miles, defended by 280 pieces of ordnance. General Jumel commanded the troops as before, under the control of the governor, who was also on the spot.

Batavia being now secured, it was made the base of

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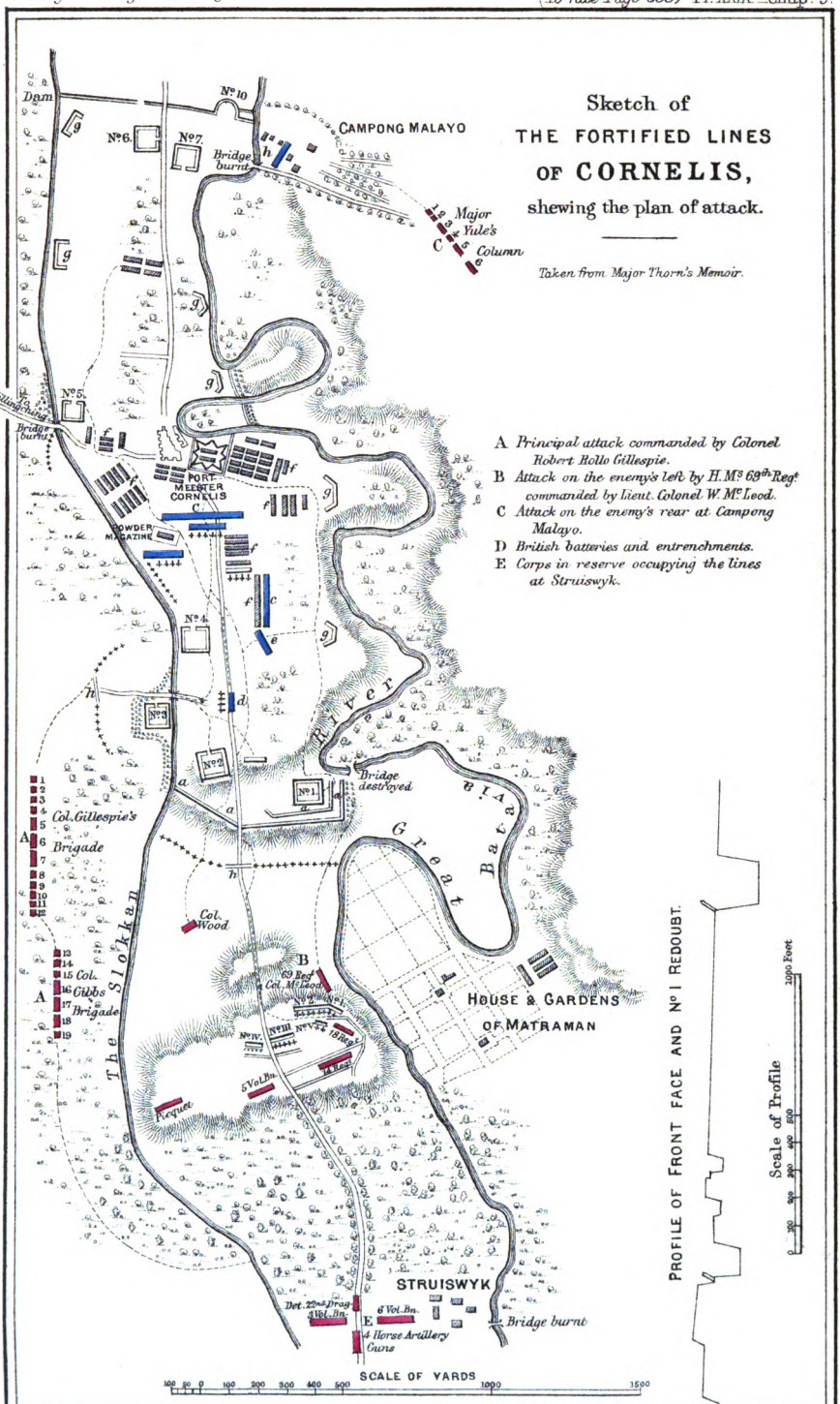

London: Henry S. King & Co, 65, Cornhill.
Edwd Weller, Lithe.

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the succeeding operations, and the reserve was ordered up from Chillingching, which was abandoned, and the bridge thrown over the Anjole river was removed. The battering train was landed, Captain Limond superintending its equipment, and an advanced position was taken up with the picquets, distant about 800 yards from the enemy's works. An attempt was made on the 19th to inundate the trenches of cover and communication between the picquets; but it was frustrated. Next day, the construction of the batteries commenced; and they were sufficiently completed by the night of the 21st, when the guns were brought up by a detachment of sailors, commanded by Captain Sayer, of the *Leda* frigate. No. I. battery of twelve 18-pounders upon the right was directed against the left of the entrenchments and No. 1 redoubt. It was manned as follows :— 1811 August

Captains Richards and Dundas; Lieutenants Colebrooke and Ralfe; Royal Artillery, 36 men; Bengal Artillery, 36 men; seamen, 96 men.

No. II. battery of eight 18-pounders was intended to fire on the right of the front attacked, and was manned as follows :—

Captain-Lieutenant J. D. Smith; Lieutenants Munro and Farrington; Royal Artillery, 18 men; Bengal Artillery, 30 men; with 64 seamen.

On the left were two batteries of 8-inch howitzers and 8-inch mortars, nine pieces in all. They were thus served :—

No. III. (howitzers).—Captain Faithful and Lieutenant Scott, 18 Bengal artillerymen, and 18 seamen.

No. IV. (mortars). — Captain Byers and Lieutenant Patton; 19 Royal artillerymen, and 24 seamen.

Lascars were attached to all the foregoing.

Another battery (No. V.), commanded by Lieutenant

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1811 August

Harris, was afterwards constructed in rear of No. I. to fire across the river, consisting of two howitzers, and served by 12 of the golandáz and 20 seamen.

Captain C. F. Napier was placed in command of the batteries, the whole being under the superintendence of Major Caldwell.

The enemy, finding out the point of attack, harassed the operations by a severe fire on the 21st, and at dawn on the 22nd made a vigorous sortie, penetrating even into one of the batteries, but were repulsed, and driven back within their lines. This taught us to support the working parties with a sufficient guard. A heavy fire from about forty of their 32 and 24-pounders followed this, causing severe loss to our men during the day; Lieutenant Farnabie was killed, and Lieutenants Munro and Colebrooke were wounded, the former losing an arm. Of the other services, four officers were killed, three wounded.

After a quiet day on the 23rd, fire was reopened on both sides with vigour on the morning of the 24th, and, though much superior in weight of metal, the French batteries suffered the most. Lieutenant Patton was killed, and Captain Richards severely injured by the explosion of some cartridges in the 18-pounder battery.* Captain Smith and Ensign Duncan Sim, of the engineers, were wounded.

The heat of the weather, added to the casualties in the batteries, having reduced the strength of the gun details very considerably, as many of the infantrymen as had acquired a knowledge of the exercise were sent during the night to assist in working the guns. But the distance of the batteries made it impossible to breach the works properly, and the enemy were able to

* He was subsequently obliged to return to Bengal on this account.

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strengthen their defences daily, so that Sir Samuel Auchmuty determined to attempt an assault at once, without expending more of his men in the trenches. The reports of deserters showed that the northern front towards Batavia was too strong for a reasonable chance of success. 1811 August

Two principal columns were therefore formed on the night of the 25th, one under Colonel Gillespie, to attack the eastern face and penetrate the lines by No. 3 redoubt. It consisted of two brigades, one under Gillespie himself. The second column under Major Yule, of the 20th Bengal N.I., was to proceed round by the right and endeavour to effect an entrance into the rear by the Campong Malayo. A third attack was directed against No. 1 redoubt, under Lieut.-Colonel W. Macleod, with the 69th Regiment; but this, as well as a feigned attack on the right of the northern face, was principally intended to distract attention from the main attack.

Colonel Gillespie's column was perfectly successful. He attacked and carried the redoubt outside the Slokan without waiting for Colonel Gibbs, whose brigade was detained a little in rear, and then, crossing the bridge under a heavy fire and turning to the left, carried (also at the point of the bayonet) redoubt No. 4. Colonel Gibbs, arriving in support, was directed to storm No. 2, on the right of the entrance, which he did in gallant style, but lost a great number by the explosion of the powder magazine in it, which two French captains were said to have fired, sacrificing themselves by the deed. Daylight now breaking showed them the enemy's park guns, and the reserve drawn up in two lines at right angles to one another, with a large body of cavalry on the right. These were attacked at once; the guns were carried, the reserve driven back, and the plain in front of the small

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1811 August

fort having been cleared, the enemy in this quarter were completely broken and fled.

Major Yule's column carried the Campong Malayo, but could not cross; the bridge having, in accordance with orders, been set on fire. The two horse artillery guns, however, harassed the flying bodies of French in their retreat on Buitenzorg.

The attack by Lieut.-Colonel W. Macleod on No. 1 redoubt was likewise perfectly successful, but that officer unfortunately fell in the moment of victory.*

The cavalry under Major Travers, and horse artillery under Captain Noble, followed up the pursuit for ten miles, capturing a great number of prisoners, of whom in all 6000 fell into our hands, as well as the whole of the ordnance and stores. So brilliant a success was not gained without heavy loss—13 officers and 83 non-commissioned officers and men being returned as killed; 48 officers and 526 non-commissioned officers and men wounded and missing.

Captain Noble was the only artillery officer mentioned in the commander-in-chief's general order of the 29th; †

* He was the same officer who had served at the taking of the Mauritius.

† With regard to this omission, which may, or may not, have been accidental, Captain Buckle quotes the following letter from an engineer officer in Java, written in October to Colonel Horsford, commandant of the Bengal Artillery:—

"You will see that the Artillery were left out in the thanks to the army on the 29th of August; but allow me to say, and that *decidedly*, that had it not been for the fire of our 18-pounders on the 23rd, 24th, and 25th, I believe not a man would have returned from the storm of the 26th without some remembrance, as the day before the storm 130 men and 4 officers were killed and wounded by our batteries; the consequence was that their artillerymen positively refused to work at the batteries, and hardly a gun was fired by the enemy during the storm, although they had plenty of time. . . . . I was constantly in the batteries. . . . . The effect of our artillery, when they did fire, was so conspicuous, that at a practice I never saw better firing, especially of

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but in his despatch to the Governor-General, dated the 31st, he says :— 1811 August

"I have the satisfaction to assure you, that both the artillery and engineers were actuated by the same zeal in performing their respective duties, that has been so conspicuous in all ranks and departments, though from the deficiency of the means at their disposal, their operations were unavoidably embarrassed with uncommon difficulties."

General Janssens fled to Buitenzorg, whence, declining an invitation to surrender, he continued his course to Samarang. General Jumel was taken prisoner at Cheribon, which had just before fallen into British hands. Near Samarang, at a place named Jattoo, Janssens took post with a force of about 8000 men, principally composed of natives, and 30 guns. Sir Samuel Auchmuty followed him up with a brigade under Colonel Gibbs, consisting of 110 artillerymen, Royal and Bengal, with six field-pieces, the 14th and 78th Regiments, and the grenadiers of the 3rd Volunteer Battalion—about 1200 men, with 200 pioneers. They landed without opposition at Samarang on the 13th of September; and, while the Admiral proceeded to Fort Ludowyck, near Sourabaya, moved, on the morning of the 16th, to assail the position of the French general. It was a strong one, on some high rugged hills, over which, intersecting it, ran the high road from Samarang to Solo—difficult of approach in front, but more so on the flanks, their left overlooking the Samarang river, and their right only to be turned by a circuitous route over difficult and unknown ground of several miles. Sir Samuel knew that delay would only September

three guns on the right of the twelve-gun battery, commanded by Lieutenant Cameron. I declare to you, I never witnessed anything like it, for every shot he fired went into the enemy's embrasures; the consequence was that in an hour and a half the redoubt which was opposed to it was silenced."

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1811 September give confidence to the enemy, and the transports with additional troops had by mistake gone on to Zedayo, near Fort Ludowyck, so that reinforcements could not be had without deferring all attempts for some time; wherefore he ordered Colonel Gibbs to attack directly. A hill overlooking the enemy's left was occupied by a detachment with two guns. A valley about 1200 yards in width separated the two forces, and the remaining four guns opened fire across it, though from the distance and nature of the ground its effects could merely have been to give confidence to the attack. Colonel Gibbs crossed the valley under this fire at the double, while the enemy, unprepared for the movement, did not reply till a great number of the troops were sheltered by the slope of the hill. So it happened that only two men were killed and few wounded in the advance; and when the whole line came on at the charge, the enemy fled, leaving nearly all their guns; and as the principal force was mounted, they were able to get out of the reach of danger. Pursuit was continued as far as the small fort of Onarang, about 12 miles from Samarang, which was evacuated by them.

General Janssens fled to Salatiga, where, finding himself without an army, he surrendered the same night; and thus the war, so far as his nation was concerned, terminated.

The artillery officers with this force were Major Caldwell, Lieutenants Scott, Farrington, Cameron, and Ralfe.

Medals in commemoration of these services were conferred upon the native troops by Government orders;[1] and the decorations were also given by order[2] to the general

[1] G. O. Fort William, 11th February, 1812.

[2] Lord Liverpool, Secretary of State, War Department, to Lieutenant General Sir S. Auchmuty, dated Downing Street, December, 1811.

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senior staff and commanding officers actually engaged, and recommended by the commander-in-chief. 1811 September

Sir Samuel Auchmuty's conduct of these operations showed him to be a skilful and judicious leader. The daring resolution of Colonel Gillespie, to which he fell a sacrifice in a later campaign, was never more conspicuous than in the storming of the lines of Cornelis. Prompt to strike, he knew not how to turn back till he had accomplished the work he was sent to perform. Seconded as he was by the gallantry of the officers and men under his command, success was an almost certainty. And the courage of the sepoys, who now, for a second time, under the leading of British officers, assisted in driving back a French army at the bayonet's point, ought not to be passed over in silence.

On the other hand, the negligence of the French commander was very reprehensible. He allowed the difficult operation of a disembarkation to take place without opposition within practicable reach of his position, and with the exception of a single bridge burnt, and ordering a limited supply of drinking water to be kept in private houses, no obstacle was thrown in the way of the British advance. If the town of Batavia was worth retaking, it was worth defending, but it was given up, with a quantity of ordnance and military stores. The latter it was not thought necessary to remove or destroy, but the spices in the warehouses were burnt or given up to plunder. In like manner the main arsenal at Weltervreeden was taken, after an action fought by merely the advanced brigade of the English, with a portion of the French army. The latter, however, are not the only nation who have left important arsenals to remain insufficiently protected.

From the instructions given to the senior officers

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1811 September under him, General Jumel does not appear to have had much confidence in his men. They are almost wholly taken up with provisions for a retreat, and show but little belief in their discipline. "The retreat will be protected by the cavalry and light artillery. You will exert every means to form your troops in column, and keep up the street-firing, which is the best for checking the pursuit of an enemy. *You must try to induce the soldiers to charge with bayonets.*" For the defence the orders merely were—"1st, to defend ourselves desperately against any attack of the enemy, *without quitting our posts;* 2nd, to renew our efforts with the reserve to throw the enemy into the ditch; 3rd, *not to retreat without orders,* but, when such shall be given, to spike the guns, etc." While it is one of the most important rules in warfare to make careful provision for a reverse, it is quite needless to remark upon the inadvisability of communicating these measures to the army in the shape of a probable event.

Shortly after these events, attention was called to the state of the neighbouring island of Sumatra, where the Sultan of Palimbang had treacherously seized and murdered the whole of the Dutch and native residents there, some time during the month of September. To punish this act of perfidy was the duty of the English, as the paramount power; and therefore Colonel Gillespie was

1812 sent with five companies of the 59th, five of the 89th Regiments, and detachments of the 5th and 6th Bengal Battalions, some Amboynese, and a detail of the Bengal Artillery. Captain J. Limond, Madras Artillery, was in command of this arm. Captain S. Shaw, Lieutenants J. S. Hele and H. Delafosse who had lately joined from Bengal, were with the force. Captain Bowen, H.M.S. *Phœnix,* with part of the fleet, accompanied.

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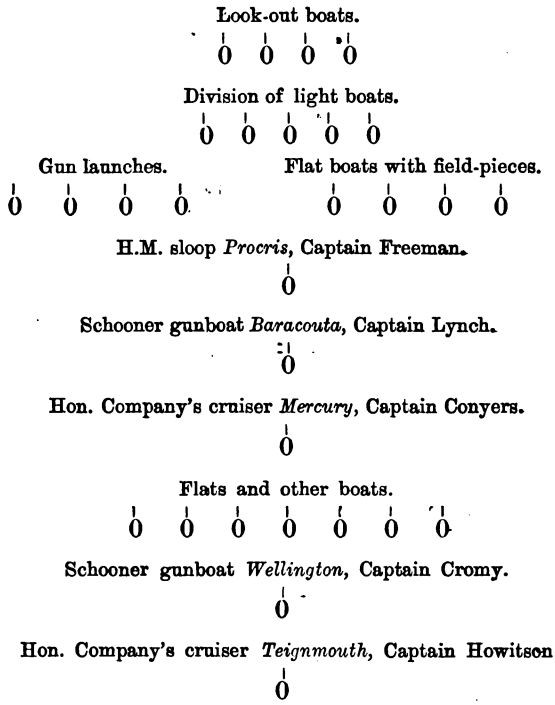
The expedition sailed from Batavia on the 20th of March, and reached Banka Island on the 3rd of April, where it remained a week, and on the 15th anchored opposite the Palimbang river. The town itself was about sixty miles up the river, which was lined on either bank with dense, impassable jungle, and varied in breadth from 700 to 300 yards. The country being quite unknown, the river was the most practicable route, and the force moved up in the order shown in the annexed diagram. 1812 April


Look-out boats.
Division of light boats.
Gun launches.
Flat boats with field-pieces.
H.M. sloop *Procris*, Captain Freeman.
Schooner gunboat *Baracouta*, Captain Lynch.
Hon. Company's cruiser *Mercury*, Captain Conyers.
Flats and other boats.
Schooner gunboat *Wellington*, Captain Cromy.
Hon. Company's cruiser *Teignmouth*, Captain Howitson.

At a short distance from Palimbang, at the village of Borang, extensive batteries had been erected, and rows of fire rafts were now moored; and this place it was the first

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1812 April

object of the force to attack. The labour of rowing against the stream under a burning sun, and want of sleep at night, made the service a very harassing one, but all ranks—soldiers as well as sailors—worked well despite both heat and rain. On the evening of the 18th they commenced to move up the river. Messengers from the Sultán of Palimbang soon made their appearance, requesting to know the object of the expedition. Their curiosity not having been satisfied, another appeared, inviting the commander to visit the capital unattended; but this likewise being declined, and a demand made for an unmolested passage, the official offered to give up possession of the batteries at Borang, as well as an Arab vessel lying there. They were therefore occupied on the morning of the 24th, and the natives, terrified, forgot their orders to hold out, and fled. Next morning information was received that the Sultán had fled, taking his treasure with him, and that the utmost confusion and bloodshed prevailed in the capital, where the king's followers were said to have planned a general massacre and plunder of all the wealthy inhabitants. Colonel Gillespie at once, therefore, pushed on a couple of canoes, the gig and barge of the *Phœnix*, accompanied by Captain Meares and Mr. Villneraby, Malay interpreter, Captain Bowen, R.N., Major Butler, deputy adjutant-general, Major Thorn, deputy quarter-master general, Lieutenant Monday, R.N., Lieutenant Forrest and 17 grenadiers of the 59th Regiment; Lieut.-Colonel Macleod having orders to follow at once with the rest of the troops. It was 8 o'clock on a dark, stormy night when Colonel Gillespie landed, and the scene is described as appalling beyond the powers of imagination. The yells and shrieks of the murderers and their victims, which were heard throughout the whole extent of the city, would have

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deterred any but those who, like Gillespie, were only attracted by danger. The flames of burning houses and flashes of lightning revealed, in torrents of rain, the horrid work that was going on, and crowds of hostile barbarians prepared to add, if they dared, the Englishmen to the number of slaughtered bodies. But through them all Colonel Gillespie, with his five officers and seventeen grenadiers, passed till they reached the palace, where they secured themselves till the arrival, soon after midnight, of Major French, with about sixty men of the 89th Regiment, and early next morning, of the remainder. 1812 April

Possession was thus secured of the capital without the loss of a single soldier; the boldness of the proceeding disarmed opposition, and Colonel Gillespie was able, on the 14th of May, formally to instal the brother of the deposed Sultán upon the vacant throne, with the approbation of his subjects. Nevertheless, remarkable as was the courage displayed, Gillespie's rashness was not commendable. Had the uplifted creese of the Malay who was disarmed beside him on that night been used as it was intended, the failure of the expedition would have been the certain result. But success wins applause, though commendation be withheld. May

Having thus accomplished his object, Colonel Gillespie, on the 20th of May, formally took possession of the island of Banca, which had been previously ceded to the British Government, changing its name to the Duke of York's Island, and returned to Batavia by the 1st of June. June

Hostilities in Java were not over yet. The Sultán of Mataram, in the southern part of the island, had formed a plan for uniting with the other native powers to expel all foreigners, and Mr. Raffles, the Lieut.-Governor of Java, was obliged to take measures for repressing the

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1812 June rebellion. Sir Samuel Auchmuty had returned to Madras, leaving Colonel Gillespie in command of the forces. Of the Bengal Artillery, Major E. W. Butler had succeeded Lieutenant-Colonel Caldwell on his promotion, and Captain H. T. Rudyerd had replaced Captain Noble with the Madras Artillery. Only a portion of the troops employed in the Palimbang expedition had arrived, so Mr. Raffles and Colonel Gillespie proceeded to Jojokarta, the capital of Mataram, with but a small force, consisting of part of the 14th Regiment and Bengal Light Infantry, the 3rd Volunteer Battalion, two troops of the 22nd Dragoons, and a detachment of Bengal Artillery. Major Butler and Lieutenants Farrington, Cameron, and Bell, were with the latter. Lieut.-Colonel Alex. Macleod followed with the grenadiers of the 59th, the flank and rifle companies of the 78th Regiment, a small party of hussars, a detachment of Royal Artillery under Captain Byers, and of the Madras Horse Artillery under Captain Rudyerd, and the larger portion of the ordnance.

On arrival at Jojokarta on the 17th of June, possession was taken of the Dutch town, and a portion of the force sent into the fort, which was situated about 800 yards to the north of the Krattan. This was a quadrangular fort, about three miles in circumference, enclosed by a high and broad rampart, with a wide wet ditch and bastions at the angles, and defended by nearly 100 pieces of ordnance. It contained the palaces of the Sultán and his court, and about 17,000 regular troops. Besides these, in the campongs* and country surrounding the Krattan, there was a large armed population, estimated at 100,000 men. Attempts were made by the Governor to bring matters to an amicable settlement,

* Bazars.

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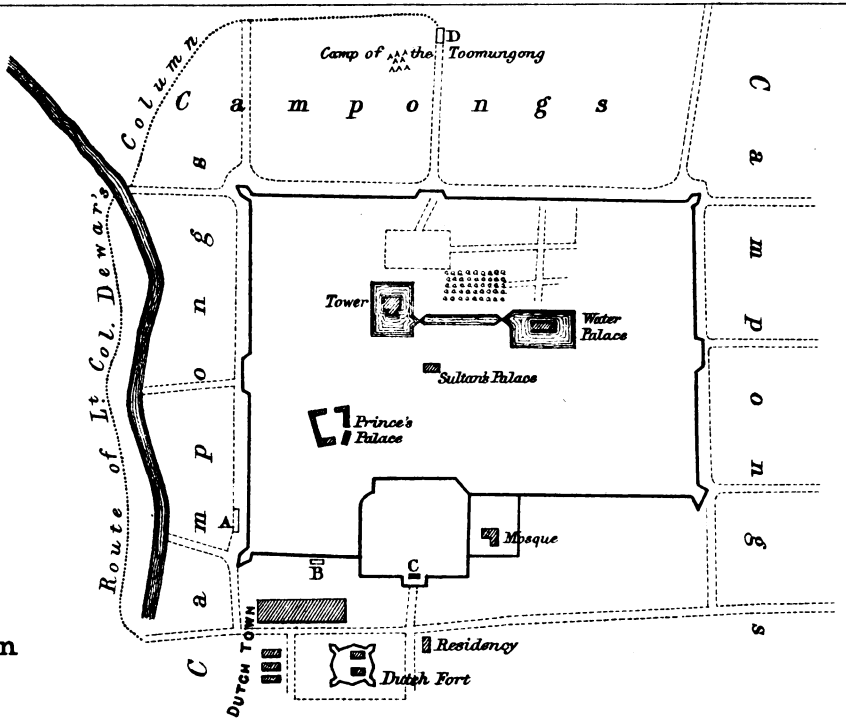

Plan of the Krattan of JOJOKARTA.

Taken from Major Thorn's Memoir.

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but the pride of the barbarian prevailed to his destruction. Measuring his power by his arrogance, he dismissed the messenger with threats. 1812 June

Lieut.-Colonel Macleod was not far behind; but the country was swarming with hostile natives, and Colonel Gillespie was obliged to send a party of dragoons, under Lieutenant Hall, to open a communication with him. Captain Byers with the Royal Artillery was a day's march further in rear, and Colonel Macleod, desiring to send him a order, could not get a native courageous enough to venture. The dangerous service was, however, undertaken by John O'Brien, a matross of the Madras Horse Artillery, who rode boldly back through the intervening enemy, and returned safely, for which he was specially mentioned in despatches, and rewarded with a gold medal. On the morning of the 19th the whole joined head-quarters. Exposure to the great heat, and the long marches, rendered some rest necessary; but the cannonade was kept up between the fort and Krattan, the bamboo-built houses in the neighbouring campongs were set on fire, and the enemy dislodged from behind their enclosing walls.

The place was stormed and taken on the morning of the 20th. A column (*D*) under Lieut.-Colonel Dewar, following a circuitous route, entered at the south gate, having previously dislodged a party of the enemy, under Toomungong Sumoot Denigrat, encamped outside. This column consisted of part of the Bengal Light Infantry, and the 3rd Volunteer Battalion, with some natives.

Major Grant, 4th Volunteer Battalion, led an attack against the principal entrance (*c*) as a diversion. The main attack (*A* and *B*), under Lieut.-Colonel Watson, of the 14th, assailed the north-east angle at two points;

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1812 June

part of the 14th Regiment and of the Bengal Light Infantry on the east side. Led by Captain Johnston and Lieutenant Hunter, the grenadiers of the 14th escaladed the rampart in gallant style, while the sepoys, under Captain Ley, crossed the ditch at the angle of the bastion, where it was fordable, and, getting on the berme, ran round to the Prince's gate. Major Butler commanded the artillery detail here. Lieut.-Colonel Macleod at the same time, with the grenadiers of the 59th Regiment, the flank and rifle companies of the 78th, moved up to the Prince's gate (*B*). This was found to be strongly barricaded; wherefore Captain Byers ordered up one of the horse artillery guns under Lieutenant Charles W. Black,* and it was, though with difficulty, blown open. The Bengal sepoys, coming along the berme, assisted them by letting down the drawbridge; and the party, ascending into the embrasures upon one another's shoulders, so forced an entrance, and, joining Colonel Watson, rapidly swept the ramparts.

Meanwhile, a hot fire had been kept up from the Dutch fort upon the interior of the Krattan. A powder magazine in the north-east bastion exploded, which materially aided the assailants in the escalade. The cavalry and horse artillery scoured the roads outside the place, and cut off the fugitives, preventing escape. The contest lasted for about three hours, by which time the whole of the fortifications and ordnance, together with the Sultán, were in our hands. The casualties were comparatively few; Major Butler, one drummer, and eleven rank and file being among the wounded. The services of Major Butler, Captain Byers, Captain Rudyerd, Lieutenants Black and Cameron, were specially noticed in Colonel Gillespie's despatch. Re-

* Afterwards killed at Kittoor, 23rd October, 1824.

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garding the first-named officer, he related his acknowledgments in the following terms:— 1812 June

"The commander of the forces performs a pleasing task in recognizing the valuable services of Major Butler, commanding the artillery, who has uniformly displayed his wonted zeal and indefatigable exertions. The commander of the forces is therefore happy in the opportunity of bearing public testimony to the professional superiority and valuable acquirements of this excellent officer."

This concluded the hostilities in Java. The 7th Company, 1st Battalion, returned to Bengal in the beginning of 1815, and the 1st Company, 2nd Battalion,* a year after. Other expeditions took place previously—one in June, 1813, under Colonel Watson, of the 14th Regiment, to the Sambas river in Borneo, which was accompanied by a detail of Bengal Artillery, under Lieutenant A. Cameron; others against Boni and Macassar, in the island of Celebes, in 1814 and 1816—but they do not call for particular remark. Besides the last-named officer, Captain-Lieutenants Shaw and Harris, Lieutenants Farrington and Delafosse, took part in them. Capt.-Lieutenant J. D. Smith had died in Java, on the 25th of March, 1813.

A corps of Java Light Cavalry was formed, under Major Lucius O'Brien, with horse artillery attached. The latter was officered by Captain-Lieutenant J. P.

* Lieutenant George Everest joined this company in Java, and was employed by the governor, Mr. T. S. Raffles, in executing a reconnoitring survey of the country. Captain Shaw had, previously to this, obtained furlough on sick certificate. Lieutenant-Fireworker Ralfe, who had, after the capture of Palimbang, been stationed with a detachment at Banca, and was subsequently employed in the district of Bantam, sailed for Europe on account of his health in March, 1815. Lieutenant-Fireworker H. J. Wood was sent to do duty with this company, and joined it in 1814, and both he and J. S. Hele returned to Bengal the following year. Lieutenant-Fireworker W. Bell, now of the 7th Company, 1st Battalion, was acting at Weltervreeden, in the pay department, in the beginning of 1816.

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1812 June Boileau, and Lieutenants G. E. Gowan and S. Parlby, who belonged respectively to the 2nd, 1st, and 3rd Troops of the Bengal Horse Brigade; but it does not appear even to have been engaged in any active service.

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APPENDIX.

NOTE A.—Names of officers of the Bengal Artillery who served in the sieges of Kamonah and Ganáori.

NOTE B.—Expenditure of ammunition at the siege of Kamonah.

NOTE C.—Expenditure of ammunition at the siege of Ganáori.

NOTE D.—Expenditure of ammunition and stores at the siege of Ajigarh.

NOTE A.

Names of officers of the Bengal Artillery who served at the sieges of Kamonah and Ganáori, 1807.

Lieutenant-Colonel John Horsford.

3RD COMPANY, 1ST BATTALION.

Captain Robert Hetzler.
Lieutenant William McQuhae.
„ Charles Harris.
„ Edward Pryce. Doing duty from 2nd Company, 2nd Battalion.

2ND COMPANY, 2ND BATTALION.

Captain Alexander Macleod. Doing duty from 3rd Company, 1st Battalion.
Captain-Lieutenant Harry Stark, adjutant.
„ Alexander Lindsay. Doing duty from 1st Company, 3rd Battalion.
Lieutenant Samuel Parlby. Doing duty from 4th Company, 2nd Battalion. Joined 28th October.

NOTE B.

Expenditure of ammunition at the siege of Kamonah.

Date.	18-pr. guns.		12-pr. guns.		Total shot and case.	8-inch howitzer shell.	5½-inch howitzer shell.	5½-inch mortar shell.	Total shell.
	Solid shot.	Case.	Solid shot.	Case.					
Oct. 23	300	...	134	7	441	26	20	...	46
24	276	12	146	...	434	54	4	...	58
25	264	...	188	...	452	18	19	...	37
26	288	2	118	...	408	2	20	...	22
27	274	...	63	...	337	19	24	...	43
28	190	...	72	...	262	6	14	20	40

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NOTE B (*continued*).

Date.	18-pr. guns.		12-pr. guns.		Total shot and case.	8-inch howitzer shell.	5¼-inch howitzer shell.	5¼-inch mortar shell.	Total shell.
	Solid shot.	Case.	Solid shot.	Case.					
Oct. 29	90	...	70	...	160	...	...	16	16
30	102	...	86	...	188	...	...	16	16
31	188	...	50	...	238	...	...	22	22
Nov. 1	66	...	40	...	106	...	...	13	13
2	80	...	47	...	127	...	...	12	12
3	57	...	41	...	98	—	—	—	—
4	37	...	74	...	111	...	...	22	22
5	28	...	78	...	106	12	...	2	14
6	29	...	40	...	77	—	—	—	—
7	...	...	67	...	67	4	1	...	5
8	12	...	25	...	37	11	7	...	18
9	16	...	53	...	69	25	15	...	40
10	...	...	2	...	2	4	7	...	11
11	...	...	9	...	9	8	4	...	12
12	226	...	20	...	246	...	14	...	14
13	440	...	65	...	505	10	12	22	44
14	486	...	52	...	538	6	24	9	39
15	157	...	52	...	209	4	8	16	28
16	220	...	46	...	266	...	14	31	45
17	630	...	155	...	785	18	52	23	93
18	580	...	484	...	1064	42	80	40	162
Total ...	5036	14	2277	7	7242	269	339	264	872

NOTE C.

Expenditure of ammunition at the siege of Ganáori.

	18-pounder guns.		8-inch howitzers.	5¼-inch mortars.
	Shot.	Case.	Common shell.	Common shell.
December 6th	364	30	—	—
„ 7th	470	...	—	—
„ 8th	333	11	...	35
„ 9th	386	12	27	63
„ 10th	330	...	26	28
„ 11th	362	12	26	48
Total	2245	65	79	174

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NOTE D.

Return of ammunition and stores expended against the fort of Ajigarh during the siege, by a detachment of Artillery commanded by J. H. Brooke.

Camp Ajigarh, Feb. 17th, 1809.

Axes with helves, felling	7	Missing.
Axes with helves, pick	3	Missing.
Bags, double gunny, for sand	897	
Bamboos, large	18	
„ small	1240	
Baskets, hand, bamboo	63	
„ „ rattan	47	
„ „ jowe	287	
Bills, hand	2	Missing.
Candles, wax, seers	10	
Cartridges, empty serge, 18-prs.	2053	
„ „ „ 12-prs.	787	
„ „ „ 8-inch howitzers	278	
„ filled and fixed to case, 18-prs.	23	
Chalk, Europe, chittacks	12	
Carcasses, 8-inch, serviceable	10	
„ composition, lbs. oz.	120 8	
Drifts, gun	1	Lost.
Fuzes, filled, 8-inch	344	
Hatches	1	Missing.
Kit, lbs. oz.	10 8	
Line, seizing, country, maunds	10 33	
Match, gun, country, skeins	16	
„ „ quick, oz.	10	
Mallets	46	Broke and lost.
Mamooties	8	Missing.
Needles, packing	3	Broke and lost.
„ sail	2	Broke and lost.
„ sewing	5	Broke and lost.
Oakum, seers	30	
Palms, steel	1	Lost.
Paper, Europe, quires	1	
Pencils, black lead	2	
Portfires, filled	400	
Powder, Allahabad, cylindrical ordnance, lbs.	300	
„ Bengal, pit	13,689 8	
„ „ cylindrical musket	700 12	
„ mealed	12	
Pins for fastening battery platforms	50	
Rammers, earth	3	

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Rattans, Malacca	2254	
Rungs for scaling ladders, 3 ft. long	100	
„ „ „ 6 ft. long	30	
Shot, loose, round 18-pounder	2053	
„ „ „ 12 „	787	
Shells, 8-inch	268	
Sights, gun, copper	1	Lost.
Spun yarn, seers	134	
Spikes, gun	2	Lost.
Twine, country, seers, chittacks	21 11	
„ Europe	3 6	
Wads, round, 18-pounders	500	
Wax, cloth, pieces	1 4	
Wrappers, Curwah, 18-pounders	7	

(Signed) CHAS. FELDWICK,
Conductor, Ordnance.

NOTE E.

Captain James Henry Brooke was the son of Colonel Brooke, of the Bengal Native Infantry, who was for some years the governor of St. Helena. He was, as will be seen by the reader of this history, distinguished for his abilities as an artillery officer, and by his services in the field; but he also won the higher reputation which a character confers, that leaves its impress for good upon those with whom it is associated. The following extract confirms what is known from other sources of this officer:—

"In the bright cluster of names which now crowd upon my memory, I have only room to insert those of Paton, Price, Todd, Mainwaring, and an artillery officer of the name of Brooke, a man who seemed to my mind to want nothing but opportunity to realize the idea we form of such a character as Sir Philip Sidney. With a handsome countenance and commanding figure, he was brave, ardent, intellectual, and benevolent above his means, possessing a mind capable of any degree of cultivation, and a disposition which, while it attached by its frankness, commanded respect by the invariably good intention which it displayed."

On the augmentation of the horse artillery in 1809, Captain Brooke was appointed to the 3rd Troop, now B

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Battery, C Brigade, Royal Horse Artillery, which he commanded till his promotion to major, September 1st, 1818. He died suddenly of apoplexy, in Chowringhee, Calcutta, November 21st, 1821.[1]

Note F.

I have not been able to identify with certainty, as yet, the names of officers and the companies which furnished the details employed in Bandelkhand in 1806-7. Those given in the text are from Buckle and the Tables showing where the companies were stationed, neither of which authorities is quite reliable. The muster-rolls of these years are very incomplete. It appears, however, that the following officers were sent on command into Bandelkhand in November and December, 1806, and probably, therefore, served at the capture of Chumir:—

Capt.-Lieut. J. A. Biggs.
Lieutenant A. Guinaud } with small details of men.
„ W. Curphy }

The companies were at this time so few in number, and so reduced in strength, that the artillery accompanying any force was made up of details sent from wherever they could best be spared.

Note G.

Detail of officers employed with the 6th Company, 1st Battalion, Bengal Artillery, in the reduction of the Isle of France.

Captain-Lieutenant	Allan Graham ...	Left Bengal in command of the company in September, 1810. Returned to Bengal in October, 1811.
„	Alexander Fraser	Relieved Captain Graham on the 1st of October, 1811. Returned with the company to Bengal in March, 1812.

[1] *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register*, 1822, vol. xiii. p. 489; *East Indian United Service Journal*, vol. i. p. 261; and other authorities.

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Lieutenant ...	Isaac Pereira ...	Acted as adjutant to the Royal and Bengal Artillery January to July, 1811, when he returned to Bengal.
Lieut.-Fireworker.	Thomas D. Fordyce	Doing duty. Returned to Bengal in July, 1811.
,,	James Ewart ...	Doing duty. Returned with the company.
,,	John Rawlins ...	Doing duty. Returned with the company.
,,	Hugh C. Baker ...	Doing duty. Returned to Bengal in August, 1811.
Assistant-Surgeon	Edward Phillips ...	In medical charge. Returned with the company.
,,	William Malcolm ...	Sent to Madagascar on command. Proceeded home on furlough 26th Sept., 1811.

END OF VOL. I.

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